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DANTE

H. B. COTTERILL

Clarendon Press Series

DANTE

SELECTIONS FROM THE INFERNO

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

Alfieri is said to have made a selection of the most beautiful passages in the Divine Comedy. After having finished it he added this comment—that were he to undertake the task a second time he would not omit a single line.

I must confess to a similar feeling. There were many reasons to induce me to make a more complete work, or to annotate the first fifteen cantos, instead of taking disconnected portions of the Inferno and binding them together with an argument. Yet, considering that this book was intended for beginners rather than for proficients, and that it would be impossible to treat of the Inferno in the introductory chapters as a whole unless the whole were in some form or other set before the reader, I have preferred to select some of the most interesting cantos, and so to treat them that the volume may readily be enlarged at a future time. My sincere hope is that these selections may prove a stepping-stone towards the study of the Divine Poem: and my chief fear is lest they may merely add point to Voltaire's sarcasm with regard to Dante—*'Sa réputation s'affermira toujours parce qu'on ne le lit guère. Il y a de*

TABLE OF DATES (*continued*).

EMPERORS.	TABLE OF DATES (<i>continued</i>).	POPEs.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1190. Henry VI.	1162. Milan destroyed.	1154. Hadrian IV.
[1198-1208. Philip and Otho IV rivals.]	1167. Lombard League.	1159. Alexander III (Victor and Pascal anti- popes).
1208. Otho IV.	1176. Battle of Legnano.	1191. Celestine III.
1212. Frederick II.	1183. Treaty of Constance.	1198. Innocent III.
1250. Conrad IV*.	1190. Frederick I dies in the East.	1216. Honorius III.
[1254. Interregnum. Richard Earl of Corn- wall and Alfonso of Castile, rivals].	1197. Henry VI dies, leaving his son Frederick II under regency of Constance.	1227. Gregory IX.
	1198. Constance dies: Frederick II king of Naples: the Norman kingdom thus passes to the house of Suabia.	1241. Celestine IV. (vacancy.)
	1206-11. Crusade against the Albigenses.	1243. Innocent IV.
	1212. Frederick II crowned king of Romans.	1254. Alexander IV.
	1215. Murder of Buondelmonte at Florence.	
	1220. Frederick receives the imperial crown.	
	1237. Battle of Corte Nuova.	
	1245-59. Tyranny of Eccelino.	
	1246. Conspiracy and suicide of Piero delle Vigne.	
	1248. Frederick expels Guelphs from Florence.	
	1249. Enzo, Frederick's son, taken prisoner by Bo- lognese at Fossalta.	
	1251. All Guelph exiles recalled.	
	1254. Conrad dies—Regency of Manfred.	

1258. Manfred usurps the kingdom of Naples.
 1259. Eccelino's death.
 1260. Battle of Monte Aperto.
 1265. Dante born. Charles d'Anjou elected Senator of Rome.
 1266. Battle of Grandella. Guelph constitution at Florence. Beatrice born.
 1268. Battle of Tagliacozzo. Conradin beheaded.
 1270. Saint Louis, in last Crusade, dies of plague at Tunis.
 1272. Guy de Montfort murders Henry, son of Richard of Cornwall, at Viterbo.
 1274. Dante first sees Beatrice (1st May).
 1276. Giotto born. Guido Guinelli dies.
-
1273. Rudolph of Hapsburg.*
 1282. Sicilian Vespers.
 1284. Defeat of Pisans at Meloria.
 1285. Ugolino Captain-general of Pisa.
 1286. Charles d'Anjou dies.
 1288. Death of Ugolino.
 1289. Defeat of Ghibelins at Campaldino.
 1290. Surrender of Caprona. Beatrice dies.
 1291-2. Dante writes the Vita Nuova.
 1292. Dante marries Gemma de' Donati. Can Grande della Scala born.
-
1292. Adolph of Nassau.*
 1298. Albert I of Hapsburg.*
-
1261. Urban IV.
 1265. Clement IV.
 [1269. Vacancy.]
 1271. Gregory X.
 1276. Innocent V;
 Hadrian V.
 1277. John XX or XXI;
 Nicholas III.
 1281. Martin IV.
 1285. Honorius IV.
 1289. Nicolas IV.
 [1292. Vacancy.]
 1294. Celestine V;
 Boniface VIII.

* None of these Emperors recognised in Italy.

TABLE OF DATES (*continued*).

EMPERORS.			POPES.
A.D.	A.D.		A.D.
1308. Henry VII of Luxemburgh.	1301. Charles de Valois enters Italy. Dante goes on an embassy to Rome.		1303. Benedict XI.
	1302. Sentence of exile pronounced, Jan. 27th.		
	1304. Baschiera's unsuccessful attempt to enter Florence. Bridge over the Arno breaks down. Petrarch born, 20th July.		1305. Clement V.
	1305-8. Dante writes some part of 'De Vulgari Eloquio.'		
	1306. Dante at Padua, 27th Aug.		
	1308. League of the three forest Cantons of Switzerland.		
	1309. Dante at monastery Del Corvo: thence to Paris, Oxford (?), and Flanders.		
	1310. Deputies meet Henry at Lausanne.		
	1311. Henry receives iron crown at Milan. Dante at Milan and in Casentino. Publishes the 'De Monarchia.'		
	1312. Henry crowned as Emperor at the Lateran.		
	1313. Henry dies. Dante at convent of S ^{ta} . Croce di Fontana Avellana. Perhaps to Paris (?).		
	1314. Dante with Uguccione at Lucca.		[1314. Vacancy.]
	1315. Battle of Monte Catini.		
	1316. Exiles offered humiliating terms of recall.		1316. John XXI or XXII.
	1317. Dante at Verona with Can Grande.		
	1320. Dante with Guido da Polenta at Ravenna.		
	1321. Dies at Ravenna.		
1314. Lewis IV of Bavaria. (Frederick of Austria, rival.)			

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

DANTE'S life was intimately connected with the political interests of his native city, and considered apart from these interests it is almost meaningless. But to understand the political state of Florence at the end of the thirteenth century, to form any distinct idea of the intricate feuds of Guelph and Ghibelin, of Cerchi and Donati, of Neri and Bianchi, without viewing them in their natural connection with the history of Italy is impossible. Therefore, before I speak of Dante's age, I shall briefly survey the preceding centuries, and attempt to shew the origin and meaning of those local and national animosities that distracted Italy, and filled every city with internal discord.

Ancient Italy may be said to have breathed her last in A.D. 476, when Zeno, the Emperor of Constantinople, was acknowledged by the Roman senate as the sole representative of the Caesars, and his regent in the East, the barbarian Odoacer, was proclaimed king. From that time the Western Empire ceased to exist—a power which had so long, but with an ever feebler grasp, held together as one nation the diverse peoples from the Alps to the southern bounds of Sicily. Thenceforth, till our days, the history of Italy has been the history of barbarian conquerors, of foreign dynasties, of princely and papal usurpations, of petty states, and, above all, of interminable feuds. Its sole characteristic has been disunion, which, although it doubtless tended to produce individual men unsurpassed in personal attainments, has at the same time made Italian history interesting solely on account of its diversity, and unstudied except for the sake of a few great names.

While Odoacer was still reigning, the Ostrogoths under Theodoric invaded the land, and Ravenna became the capital of a new Italian kingdom. Sixty years later we find the country conquered by Belisarius and Narses, generals of Justinian, by whom it was reunited to the Eastern Empire. But fifteen years had not passed before (in 568) the Lombards, incited by the jealousy of Narses himself, crossed the Alps. Under their leader Alboin they founded the kingdom of Lombardy, of which Pavia was the capital, and overran the greater part of the peninsula, making the duchy of Benevento the centre of their power in the south. There were however many cities, and among these Rome, that remained unconquered. Some of them, as Venice, became independent states, and others, as Bari Amalfi and Naples, continued in partial allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor. The incomplete success of the Lombard invasion caused the first great dismemberment of Italy into those separate parts that, with little alteration, have remained till our times disunited, although comprised under the common name of Italy: for from the sixth to the nineteenth century the Italian nation has been a verbal fiction. Had the Lombard conquest been more complete, it is possible that this might have been otherwise. But what ancient Rome scarcely effected under far more favourable circumstances would seem to have been, and still to be, beyond the power of foreign conquest or internal policy. From the earliest times Italy was peopled by many heterogeneous races, whom the nature of the country attracted from various quarters, and who have never, as the Saxons and Normans in England, naturally grown together into one nation.

For two centuries Lombard kings held sway in Italy. In 774 Charles the Great, invited by Pope Hadrian, overthrew the Pavian monarchy; and in 800 he received the golden crown at Rome. Thus the Western Empire was revived in the person of the Frankish king: but at the death of Charles the Fat in 887 the Italian dominion of the Carolingian line ended.

A new element had meanwhile been introduced. The Saracens conquered Sicily in 827, and quickly overran a great part

of southern Italy. In the north, invasions were made during the next century by the Northmen and Magyars, or Hungarians.

In 962 Otho the Great, king of the Germans, after having defeated the Magyars at Lechfeld, came to Italy, and was crowned as King and Emperor. Henceforth the German kings claimed to be the legitimate successors of the Caesars, and entitled to receive the iron crown at Milan as Kings of Italy, and the golden crown at Rome as Emperors.

Another power had now arisen. The Church had little by little, beginning from the supposed donation of Constantine to Silvester¹, gained from kings and emperors the rights of possessing landed property, of holding civil offices, and of fulfilling military duties. But even before the temporal power of the Popes became formidable, they claimed the right of crowning the Emperor, and exercised considerable authority as bishops of Rome. As early as the fifth century Zeno the First had boasted, '*Roma caput orbis per sacram Beati Petri sedem effecta est*.'² But Gregory the Great (590-604) by his defence of Rome against the Lombards was the first to lay the firm foundation of the papal power; and until the time of the German Emperors Rome was the centre of much independent and beneficial activity. For instance, one of the severest defeats sustained by the Magyars was inflicted by the warlike John X. Yet, though in itself beneficial, this power merely contributed to the general disunion when it was confronted with the power of the Emperors. No sooner had Otho been crowned in Rome than the dissolute boy-pope John XII began to form conspiracies against him, intriguing even with the barbarian Magyars. Otho forthwith deposed John and raised Leo VIII to the Holy See. So early do we find the two powers in antagonism.

But the most fatal blow to Italian unity was yet to fall.

During the first half of the eleventh century the Normans mastered the south of Italy, and in 1061 subdued Sicily, which, incorporated with Naples, Calabria, and Benevento, formed henceforth the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. It was not that

¹ See on Inf. xix. 115.

² Bryce, Holy Rom. Emp. ch. iii.

the Normans themselves were a scourge to the land: on the contrary, they did much to forward its prosperity. But the successors of their royal house of Hauteville appealed to the Pope for a title, and the Popes, when at a later period the direct line of the Normans failed and the kingdom had passed into the hands of the German Emperors, clung tenaciously to their rights, and enforced them by inviting the French into Italy—a crime which Dante so fiercely denounces¹.

But besides Pope and Emperor and the Norman kingdom, we find a fourth independent influence existing among the Lombard cities. These cities, though nominally subject to the Emperor, still preserved much of the municipal liberty which they had enjoyed under the sway of ancient Rome, and were constituted on at least the ruins of republicanism. Their allegiance to a common lord did not prevent many of them from attaining a powerful independence, and thus aiding in the general disintegration of Italy. Among many facts that prove the prosperity of some of these cities at an early period it may be noticed that in 1005 the Pisans greatly distinguished themselves in Calabria against the Saracens, and in 1017 conquered Sardinia. In connection with these cities of Lombardy we must not omit to mention the Tuscan cities, and the Greek towns on the southern coasts of Italy, such as Amalfi. Venice, notwithstanding the jealousy that she excited among other maritime towns of Italy, can be hardly said to have taken an active part in Italian affairs until much later².

The real contest between Pope and Emperor may be said to have been begun by Gregory VIII, better known as Hildebrand. Before his time Popes had been deposed and appointed by Otho, Henry III, and others, and at length the 'investiture,' or public form by which the Emperors conferred on a newly elected Pope the temporalities connected with his office, became almost synonymous with the appointment to the Holy See, as to a secular benefice or fief. Thus the Pope was

¹ Inf. i. 100, xix. 106.

² Venice joined the Lombard League after the murder of Tiepolo, son of the Doge, who was acting as Podestà at Milan when the battle of Corte Nuova was fought, 1237.

regarded merely as the first subject of the Empire. Hildebrand resented this indignity, and when Henry IV refused to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Christ's Vicar, he was excommunicated. A rebellion amongst his Saxon subjects forced the Emperor to submit, and for three days and nights in January 1077 he waited bareheaded in the courtyard of Canossa castle before the haughty prelate would grant him an audience. The question of the investiture was settled, rather in favour of the Popes, by the Concordat of Worms in 1122. But the arrogant policy of Gregory was continued by his successors, and although the attitude of the Church towards the Empire naturally altered with each Pope, yet it will be necessary to consider the hostility between the two powers as henceforth distinctly declared and hereditary.

Frederick Barbarossa was elected King of the Germans in 1152, and two years later came to Italy to receive the imperial crown from the Pope, Hadrian IV. But certain of the powerful cities of Lombardy refused to acknowledge his claims, and it was not till after a war of some years that, with the assistance of Pavia, he reduced them to submission. Milan proved especially obstinate, and in 1162 was utterly destroyed. At the same time the papal power was temporarily crushed. An anti-pope, Victor IV, and after him Pascal III, were supported by the imperial party against the legitimate pope Alexander III, who fled to France.

But Frederick's supremacy was of short duration. Fifteen cities of Lombardy combined in a League against him. Alexandria was built to keep a check on Pavia. The Milanese rallied their scattered forces, and defeated the imperialists at Legnano (1176); and Frederick was at length compelled to desist from the vain attempt to enforce his claims. It was at this time that the celebrated meeting between Frederick and Alexander took place at Venice¹.

¹ The current legend is that the Pope placed his foot on Frederick's neck, saying, 'The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.' There is a picture representing the scene in the Sala del maggior Consiglio of the Doge's Palace. See Rogers' 'Italy,' and Byron's 'Childe Harold.' There are slabs of red marble in the

Six years after the battle of Legnano the famous treaty of Constance was signed, which secured to the Lombard cities a virtual independence, although they nominally remained under the Empire.

This was perhaps the greatest crisis that ever occurred in the history of Italy. Had the Lombard cities seized the golden opportunity, and constituted themselves into a federation,—had they not, to use an expression of Dante, made the ‘great refusal’ when the choice was offered to them between true liberty, which was to be gained only by co-operation, and that false liberty which each petty state endeavoured to obtain by an independent policy,—it is more than probable that a power would have arisen capable of defying foreign aggression, and of crushing out intestine jealousies. But Italy ‘threw away the pearl of great price, and sacrificed even the recollection of that liberty which had stalked like a majestic spirit among the ruins of Milan¹.’

The rise of the League, and its exact nature, has been finely described by Sismondi². He has, however, as Hallam and some other writers, perhaps exaggerated the actual benefits that this alliance conferred on Italy, when comparing them with possible results—results which have been at least partially realised in other nations, such as Switzerland and Holland³. But the Lombard League possessed no federative elements: it was merely a defensive combination against a common enemy, and could not secure permanent unity. Such an alliance must naturally have grown lax when its object was but temporarily attained; and the jealousy and dissension which prevailed among the cities hastened its dissolution. These dissensions were especially fatal because, in support of their petty conflicts with one another, the cities would espouse

porch of St. Mark’s, which are intended to show the spot on which the Emperor knelt.

¹ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. iii. (1).

² Sism. *Hist. Rép. Ital.* i. x. xi.

³ See Freeman’s *Hist. Essays*, ‘Frederic the First’ and ‘Greece and Medieval Italy,’ for the parallel between this league and those of the Greek cities against Persia, Macedonia and Rome. Nothing can be more striking than the way in which the history of medieval Italy illustrates Thucydides’ well-known description of the morality of revolutionary times (iii. 82).

one or the other side of the great Feud. Nor was it cities only, but families and individuals in their private quarrels were drawn to the ranks of Guelphs or Ghibelins. As we should expect, the Popes were active in encouraging and supporting the resistance of the combined cities, and in identifying their own interests with those of the League. How the imperial interests, and with them the Feud, were actually introduced into Lombardy and Tuscany will be told later.

Two original causes of internal discord were, first, the prosperity of rival republics, second, the usurpation of power by the nobles.

1. The maritime cities, as has been said, became powerful and were involved in contests at an early period. Pisa and Genoa at the beginning of the twelfth century were engaged in a bloody war, and their rivalry continued till 1284, when the naval power of the Pisans was utterly destroyed by the battle of Meloria. Venice was an object of hatred and jealousy; but she kept aloof from Italy for a long time, and seemed rather to belong to the Eastern Empire.

Milan and Pavia, again, were during the twelfth century engaged in a fierce war, or rather in a series of wars. Such was their rivalry that the whole of Lombardy was divided into two factions headed by these two cities. Later, in the war against Frederick Barbarossa, we find Pavia siding with the emperor, while Milan was his most obstinate opponent. These facts are enough as a specimen of the almost incessant hostilities that existed among these cities up to a late period.

2. Most of the North Italian cities were at first governed by two consuls, elected yearly, aided by their select council called the *Credenza*, a deliberative senate, and a popular assembly. The consuls were afterwards replaced by a *Podestà*, who was originally a foreign governor imposed by the Emperor. The office had been abolished during the war with Frederick, but was revived after the treaty of Constance. This was done because it was found necessary to have some impartial authority, such as a foreigner alone could possess, to restrain the growing ambition of the nobles, and to allay the jealousy of the

people¹. Many of these nobles, who were often of German origin, had established themselves as feudal lords in their castles; but, as the republican spirit prevailed, they were forced to become citizens, and to live for a portion of the year within the walls of a city². But though their feudal and territorial power was checked by this measure, yet their political influence was increased. Like the Colonnas and Orsini at Rome, they erected immense palaces and impregnable towers, and gathered about these strongholds their numerous adherents. The vast and gloomy ruins that still exist in most of the North Italian towns give but a faint idea of what they once were; for the expulsion of a family was followed by the destruction of its fastnesses, and a general demolition would ensue on the supremacy of Guelphs or Ghibelins. At Florence, for instance, thirty-six towers were pulled down in 1248, and two years later a decree of the people sentenced the remainder to the same fate³.

It is after the treaty of Constance that we find the people becoming openly more exacting and imperious towards the nobles, and (as was the case in the growing republic of ancient Rome) the nobles withdrawing more and more from their sympathies with the people, regretting the loss of their former influence and of the splendours of the Empire.

According to Sismondi⁴ the first actual collision was occasioned by the election of the magistrates: for, although the Consul or Podestà continued to be chosen from the noble families, the people claimed the right of selection. And even this right was not enough to protect them from tyranny. The step from podestà to despot was not difficult when the choice

¹ The Podestà was not allowed to marry from the city, over which he was set, nor even to eat or drink in the house of any of the citizens. See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. iii. (1).

² Exceptions to this were the Marquis of Montferrat, and, Hallam says, the houses of Este, Malaspina, and Savoy.

³ Brancalone, the famous Roman Senator, destroyed 140 towers of the nobles in Rome. The policy of razing an enemy's stronghold is exemplified by the fate of Milan, and the proposed destruction of Florence in 1260 (*Inf. x. 32*).

⁴ *Sism. i. xii.* See also Hallam *ad loc. cit.*

was thus limited to certain families. The Visconti and Della Torri at Milan, the Lambertazzi at Bologna, Ugolino at Pisa, and many others, obtained dictatorial powers as perpetual Podestàs or Captains-general; and even those who had never held high office subjected cities to their despotism by means of immense wealth and armed mercenaries. The names of many such are to be found in Dante's poem.

From these considerations the real meaning of what afterwards took the name of Guelph and Ghibelin will appear to be nearly the same as that of popular and aristocratic. The one side advocated republican freedom, the other strove for despotism: the people joined the papal party, the nobles relied on imperial support. But the many private feuds that were resolved into the great Feud soon changed its character. To crush its rival a noble house would ally itself with the people, or a city would accept the assistance of a foreign power. Personal wrongs added the fiercest partisans to both sides, and at the same time altered the purely political nature of the faction. It will be necessary to bear this in mind, and not to look upon the Guelphs and Ghibelins, especially those of North Italy, as mere adherents of Pope and Emperor. A still greater mistake, and one amply refuted by such Ghibelins as Frederick II and Dante himself, will be to consider them as respectively enemies and supporters of the Church¹.

Frederick Barbarossa died in the East, when engaged in the third Crusade (1190). Now Henry VI, his son and successor, had married Constance, daughter of Roger, the Norman king of Sicily, and, on the death of William II, in 1189, after a short and vain resistance made by Tancred, an illegitimate son of Roger, the Norman kingdom passed over to the house of the Suabian emperors. Henry died in 1197, leaving his son Frederick, a child of four years, as his heir under the regency of Constance. But the Pope, Innocent III, fiercely opposed his claims in the south, while in Germany his uncle Philip and Otho of Aquitaine contested for the imperial throne, until the former died by the hand of an assassin. Otho was then recog-

¹ See on Inf. xix. 106.

nised by his German subjects, and favoured by Innocent. But soon his arrogance alienated the Pope, who forthwith espoused the cause of Frederick. It was, as Mr. Bryce says, a tragic irony that sent the young Frederick II as champion of the Holy See to oppose and dethrone Otho. Such a move utterly confounded the legitimate principles of the Feud. Otho, the head of a Guelph family, was at war with the Pope, while many Ghibelin cities and Frederick II were his allies.

Frederick advanced into Germany, and was crowned as King of the Romans at Frankfort in 1212. Otho was overthrown by the French king Philip Augustus, and after his death in 1220 his rival received the imperial crown from Honorius III.

To dwell upon the character of this extraordinary prince¹, justly called by his cotemporaries the 'Wonder of the world,' or to consider more than a few of the leading events of his long reign would require too much space. I shall confine myself to some of those facts which seem directly connected with the subject.

First, the inevitable rupture of this unnatural alliance between Pope and Emperor soon occurred. Even the mild Honorius was betrayed into anger by Frederick's arrogant conduct, and when the aged and headstrong Gregory IX ascended the papal chair, the crisis of the mortal strife began. A crusade had been commanded by the Pope. Frederick was excommunicated once for refusing to go; a second time for going; a third for returning: and when he landed again in Italy he found that the Pope had stirred up another crusade to oppose his return by force. Gregory, though eighty at the time of his elevation, held the papacy for fourteen years, and during almost the whole of that time sustained the contest with the greatest obstinacy. For, as Milman says², it was now no strife for some specific point, like the right of investiture, but a battle for supremacy. Caesar could bear no superior; the successor of Peter no equal. A new Lombard

¹ See ref. on Inf. x. 119, and xiii. 59.

² Milman's Hist. Lat. Chr. x. iii.

League was fostered by Gregory. He is even said to have incited Henry, the son of the Emperor, and the King of the Romans, in his futile revolt against his father. And though, before he died in 1241, a half-hearted reconciliation had been effected between him and Frederick, the flame burst out afresh on the accession of Innocent IV (in 1243), who revived and carried on the feud until the Emperor's death.

Let us again turn to Lombardy. When the power of the Emperor was becoming formidable the cities renewed their League. Gregory gave them his support, and for a time secured their immunity. But the imperial interests in those parts had been greatly advanced by the treachery and tyranny of Eccelino da Romano, the rival of the Guelph Marquis of Este. He had made himself lord of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, and formed a strong combination against the new League. In 1237 Frederick was invited by him to attack the cities, and in the battle of Corte Nuova the Milanese and their Guelph allies were utterly defeated. But it was not the Emperor's power so much as that of Eccelino that was thus established. For the next twenty years Lombardy was subjected to his revolting cruelties, and it was not till nine years after the death of Frederick that the disaffection of the Ghibelins and the reviving strength of the Guelphs were together able to crush the tyrant.

During therefore a great part of Frederick's reign, and until 1259, the imperial cause, represented by Eccelino, was triumphant in Lombardy. But the fortunes of Frederick himself were not forwarded by this apparent success. The disgusting atrocities of his hated adherent alienated many Ghibelin cities. Though he occupied Florence, and expelled the Guelphs for a time from that city (1248), he lost Parma, and his son Enzo was made prisoner by the Bolognese, and languished in captivity for twenty years. The resistance also of Gregory and Innocent proved too obstinate for him, and, when he died, at Ferentino, in 1250, the imperial cause was lost.

His son, Conrad IV, succeeded only to the kingdom of Naples. The Empire was offered to William of Holland,

Richard of Cornwall, and Alfonso of Castile. For the next sixty years no Emperor, and for twenty-three years no King of the Romans, was recognised in Italy¹. For the remainder of the thirteenth century, and especially after 1268, the name of Ghibelin was a term of proscription in the majority of Lombard and Tuscan towns². And the very name would have died out had it not now become a party-cry in private feuds: for, as Hallam says, after the death of Frederick the original distinctions of Guelph and Ghibelin became destitute of rational meaning. Therefore it is not a matter of surprise that even amidst this general depression of the imperial cause the so-called imperial party was not only capable of resistance, but even of victory. In 1260 the exiled Ghibelins, with the assistance of Manfred, defeated the Guelphs, headed by Florence, at the battle of Monte Aperto on the Arbia. Florence fell into the hands of the exiles, and was only saved from total destruction by the intercession of Farinata³.

But it was after the birth of Dante that the Guelph interests were firmly secured by the last fatal stroke of policy—the introduction of the French into Italy. The Sicilian kingdom, which Frederick, surrounded by his faithful Saracens, and indulging in an oriental luxury, had honoured with his constant presence, proved the instrument of the final ruin of the Italian empire⁴. Conrad IV, as has been said, had succeeded his father in the kingdom of Naples. But he died soon after (1254), and the sovereignty, after a regency of four years, was seized by Manfred, a natural son of Frederick, to the exclusion of Conradin, son of Conrad. Now the policy of Gregory IX had been continued by Alexander IV and Urban IV, the latter of whom, after the temporary success of Manfred and the Ghibelins at Monte Aperto, appealed to the French king, the sainted Louis IX, whose brother Charles d'Anjou accepted the offered crown of Naples and Sicily. In 1265, the year of Dante's birth, Charles entered Rome, where he was received by the new Pope, Clement IV, and elected Senator. Then followed the decisive battle of Grandella, in which Manfred

¹ Sism. ii. 3.

² Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. iii (2).

³ See on Inf. x. 32.

⁴ See Sism. ii. i; Bryce, *Holy Rom. Emp.* xiii.

was slain. Two years later (1268) Conradin was defeated by the Frenchman at Tagliacozzo, and was beheaded at Naples.

But the rapid success of Charles excited the jealousy and fear of the Popes. Their minister was fast becoming their master, and appeared to aim at nothing short of supreme power. Clement died in 1269, and, after a vacancy of thirty-three months, the papal chair was filled by Gregory X, who actively opposed Charles by recognising as Emperor in Italy Rudolph of Hapsburg. This policy was followed by his successors, and notably by Nicolas III, whom Dante mentions as '*contra Carlo ardito*¹.' But Charles was not to fall by such means. His ruin was brought about not by papal jealousy, but by the hatred of his Sicilian subjects, who, in 1282, incited by John of Procida, and supported by Peter, King of Aragon, threw off the French yoke. The massacre that ensued at Palermo and throughout the whole island is known under the name of the Sicilian Vespers. A few years after, Charles died; Sicily fell into the hands of the Aragonese monarchs, while Naples continued faithful to the Angevin house.

Such was the result of the first papal intrigue with France. The second was still less fortunate. In 1294 the weak Celestine V had been persuaded to resign in favour of Boniface VIII, a violent and unscrupulous Guelph—the object of Dante's bitterest hate². On the pretext of allaying factions, and among others the new feud of Neri and Bianchi³, he invited to the reconquest of Sicily Charles of Valois, brother of Philip IV of France. The Neri and Donati of Florence (who represented the extreme Guelphs) admitted Charles into their city, when he was in Tuscany in 1301. It was in this year that Dante was sent on an embassy to Rome in order to protest against the papal policy; and he never again beheld his native city; for the sentence of exile was passed upon him

¹ Inf. xix. 99.

² See on Inf. iii. 59, xix. 53.

³ 'Le pape créa ce prince comte de Romagne, capitaine du patrimoine de saint Pierre, seigneur de la Marche d'Ancone, et il y ajouta le titre nouveau de pacificateur de la Toscane.' Sism. ii. ix.

while he was absent. Charles reached Sicily, but was obliged to patch up a peace with Frederick of Aragon, who held the island; and shortly afterwards he died. Thus the second papal intrigue with France came to an end.

The one great political event of the years of Dante's exile (1301-1321) was the advent of Henry VII. Since Frederick II no Emperor had come into Italy; none had been fully acknowledged there. In 1308 Henry of Luxemburg was chosen by the German Electors, and, probably in despair of enforcing his rights on the north of the Alps, ventured on the bold course of descending into Italy.

The enthusiasm with which he was greeted by many of the cities and states is almost incomprehensible¹. They sent deputies to meet him at Lausanne: at his approach city gates were thrown open, exiles recalled, imperial vicars appointed. The '*De Monarchiâ*' of Dante, a treatise on the divine right of the Emperors, which was written either to herald or commemorate² the advent of the hero, is the most striking proclamation of the hopes that inspired many minds. It is a passionate appeal to divine justice for some deliverer—for some 'messenger from heaven,' such as was sent to open the gates of the city of Dis³: it echoes the claim set forward by the Emperors of earlier times, and admitted by theologians and jurists, that, 'As in heaven there is but one God, so is there on earth but one Pope, and one Emperor:' that this Emperor is 'Lord of the world,' and 'the living law on earth'⁴. It asserts that 'as a man has a two-fold nature, so he needs a double guidance, namely, that of a pontiff to lead him to

¹ Sismondi (ii. 12) attributes it to the revival of classic learning, especially to the study of writers, such as Virgil, who glorified imperial Rome, and perhaps still more to the study of ancient jurisprudence, such as the Pandects of Justinian. He laments the enthusiasm as a folly.

² Bryce, *Holy Rom. Emp.* xv. p. 263. The exact date of the *De Monarchiâ* is doubtful, but it was probably written before 1311, in which year it was published.

³ *Inf.* ix.

⁴ See Bryce, pp. 110, 173. The two last sayings are attributed to Bishop Otho of Freysing; the first is the expression used by Frederick Barbarossa in his letter to the prelates of Germany.

eternal life, and that of an emperor to direct him to temporal happiness¹.

Doubtless in Dante this is a larger and nobler idea than that possessed by any of his fellow Ghibelins—if indeed we should give that name to one who was above all party interests. As his hatred for Boniface and other Popes did not diminish his reverence for the papal office², so was his zeal for the imperial cause above all respect of persons. But his lofty aspirations were never to be realised. His book, as Mr. Bryce says, is an epitaph instead of a prophecy. The cities which hailed Henry's approach revolted at his departure. Robert of Naples held St. Peter's against him, and St. John's Lateran had to serve for his coronation. 'With a few troops, and encompassed by enemies, the heroic emperor sustained an unequal struggle for a year longer, till in 1313 he sank beneath the fevers of the deadly Tuscan summer. His German followers believed, nor has history wholly rejected the tale, that poison was given him by a Dominican monk in sacramental wine³.'

No event of much national importance occurred during the last eight years of Dante's life. What has been related will be sufficient to explain the connection of his political opinions with those of the rest of Italy. But it will be necessary before considering the facts of his life to give a brief summary of the changes that took place in his native city, and to state more exactly how some of the feuds arose.

FLORENCE AND THE FEUDS.

The names of Guelph and Ghibelin, says Hallam⁴, were derived from Germany, and had been the rallying word of faction for more than half a century in that country before they were transferred to a still more favourable soil. The Guelphs, or

¹ De Monarch. lib. iii. fin.

² See on Inf. xix. 106.

³ Bryce, ch. xv.

⁴ Middle Ages, i. iii. pt. i. For details see Ozanam, 'Dante et la philos. cath.' iv. i.

Welfs, took their name from a very illustrious family, several of whom had successively been Dukes of Bavaria in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The heiress of the last of these intermarried with a younger son of the house of Este, a noble family settled near Padua, and possessed of great estates on each bank of the lower Po. She gave birth to a second line of Guelphs, from whom the royal house of Brunswick is descended. The name of Ghibelin is derived from a village in Franconia¹, whence Conrad the Salic came, the progenitor, through females, of the Suabian emperors.

The first introduction of the names into Italy may possibly date from the quarrels of the Popes with Henry II and Henry IV in the eleventh century. But it was not till much later (about 1200) that the two leading parties in Lombardy, requiring the association of a name to direct as well as to invigorate their prejudices, became distinguished by the celebrated appellations of Guelph and Ghibelin. These names, says Machiavelli, were first heard at Pistoia—that city which Dante well calls a ‘den of noxious beasts.’

Florence held no prominent place until the end of the twelfth century; for Tuscany continued longer than Lombardy under an imperial government. About 1200 Innocent III had persuaded the Tuscan cities, with the exception of Pisa, which was ever staunch to the Empire, to form a league similar to that of Lombardy: and from that time their independence was more fully secured. During the earlier years of the reign of Frederick II Florence was ostensibly Guelph, and in spite of the nobles, who formed a powerful Ghibelin element, she remained united. But although she escaped intestine discord for a long time, yet, ‘as diseases are more dangerous and fatal in proportion as they are delayed, so Florence, though late to take part in the factions of Italy, was afterwards the more afflicted by them².’

¹ Its name seems to have been ‘Waiblingen.’ For the fanciful derivation from ‘Guida belli’ see Bryce, *Holy Rom. Emp.* p. 306, note.

² Machiavelli, *Hist. Flor. lib. ii. c. i.* Dante also compares his native city to ‘a sick woman, who cannot find repose upon her feather mattress, but by tossing about wards off her pain’ (*Purg. vi. 149*).

The year 1215 saw this fatal disease introduced into Florence by means of a private quarrel between two great families. Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti was betrothed to a lady of the house of the Amidei, but was induced to jilt her for the daughter of Lapaccia de' Donati¹. The Amidei took counsel with their kindred, among whom were the powerful families of Uberti and Lamberti, and resolved to act upon the murderous advice of Mosca Lamberti, whose words 'cosa fatta capo ha' have been immortalised by Dante². Buondelmonte was killed beneath the old statue of Mars³, near the Ponte Vecchio. This murder divided the city into two factions. The Buondelmonti were supported by thirty-nine of the principal families, among whom were the Cavalcanti and the Donati, while on the side of the Amidei were the remaining thirty-three, including the Uberti and Lamberti.

Yet it is possible that this feud might have died out had not causes other than those of personal animosity kept it alive. The Ghibelins were not slow to use the existing discord in forwarding their party interests. Frederick II, while engaged in the siege of Parma made overtures to the Uberti and persuaded them to hazard a violent attempt to expel the Guelphs from their city. This attempt was successful, and the Guelphs⁴ retired to their castles in the Val d' Arno (1248).

Two years later, when Frederick died, the aristocratic constitution was overthrown, and the Guelph exiles were recalled.

In 1258 the Ghibelins were suspected of endeavouring to regain their despotic power, and being expelled retired to Sienna⁵.

In 1260 the great battle of Monte Aperto, on the Arbia, took place. The Ghibelin exiles of many cities, led by Farinata⁶, and supported by Manfred's German cavalry,

¹ According to Fiorentino; see Roscoe's *Ital. Nov.* i. 322. See also Machiavelli, *Hist. Flor.* ii. 1 for a full description.

² *Inf.* xxviii. 107.

³ *Inf.* xiii. 144, note.

⁴ See *Sism.* ii. 2.

⁵ *Ib.* ii. 4.

⁶ See *Inf.* x. 32, note.

utterly defeated the Guelph army that had flocked to the standard of Florence. So disastrous was the rout that the Florentine Guelphs, not daring to return to their city, retired to Lucca.

In 1266 Manfred was slain at Grandella, and the Guelph ascendancy began. Guido Novello, Manfred's captain, after vainly temporising with the popular party, was obliged to withdraw his troops from Florence. Charles of Anjou sent Guy of Montfort to support his cause in Tuscany. A society was formed at Florence, called the *Parte Guelfa*, which gathered up and combined all the resources of that faction. Finally, the Guelph constitution was established on a firm basis. The principal features of this constitution (which however was not fully developed till 1288) were the following:—

The citizens were divided in seven greater, and five lesser Arts, or Guilds¹. Each of the greater Arts had a council, a chief magistrate or consul, and a 'gonfaloniere' or military official. These formed the body politic and legislative. The administration of criminal law was entrusted to a 'podestà' and a 'capitano del popolo,' both of whom seem to have been foreigners. In a short time however the consuls of the seven Arts were exchanged for fourteen Anziani², or Buonuomini, who were to some degree controlled by a general council³.

In 1282, the year of the Sicilian Vespers, this republican constitution was developed into that form which it kept until the time of the Medici⁴. In the place of the Anziani, six

¹ The lesser Arts were gradually increased to fourteen. The division in Arts, or at least into the seven greater Arts, dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century. See Hallam, *Middle Ages* i. iii. (1). Sism. ii. vi; Villani vii. 15-17; Machiav. *Hist. Flor.* ii. 2.

² See Inf. xxi. 38.

³ Sismondi (ii. vi.) says that the general council consisted of sixty citizens.

⁴ Some radical changes were however introduced in 1324-8. For the strange system of lottery for public office that was then adopted see Sism. v. p. 174. It may be noticed that Sienna and Arezzo accepted constitutions somewhat similar in 1285. But Arezzo soon recanted.

priors were elected every two months¹. They were chosen from six of the greater Arts, that of the lawyers being excluded, and constituted the executive magistracy, or Signoria. During their term of office they were confined as prisoners to the palace. A subordinate body of advisers, named the Collegi, were sometimes summoned by the priors; and in 1291 a gonfaloniere of justice was associated with the Signoria, who, as he possessed almost dictatorial powers in times of sedition and riot, gradually became a most important personage.

The councils were three: first, that of the people, consisting of 300 citizens chosen by lot; second, the Capituline, comprising the chief men of the greater Arts and certain officials; third, the council of the Podestàs, formed by about a hundred notables. Besides these there was also the Consiglio Generale, in which all the assemblies were united, and to which proposed laws were finally submitted.

Such was the constitution of Florence when Dante was prior, in 1300.

In 1289 the exiled Ghibelins had made a vain effort, and the last of any importance, to enter their native city by force of arms. Supported by the people of Arezzo, which was allied with Pisa against the Tuscan league, they ventured to risk a battle, and were defeated with immense loss at Certomondo, near Campaldino². In the next year the Florentines gained another advantage over the Ghibelin party by the capitulation of Caprona, which was held by the Pisans³.

It may be noticed in passing that Pisa was at this period the chief Ghibelin centre, notwithstanding the terrible defeat she had received from the Genoese in the naval battle near the island of Meloria, in 1284. In this fight she is said to have lost 5,000 killed and 11,000 prisoners⁴. Count Ugolino established himself as tyrant of the city in 1285, but his

¹ During the first term of the office there were only three priors. *Sism.* ii. viii. See also Symonds' 'Introduction to Study of Dante,' p. 53, note. For the assemblies see especially Fauriel's *Dante*, vol. i. 'Constitution de Florence.'

² See *Inf.* xxii. 4, note.

³ For this see *xxi.* 94, note

⁴ Hence the proverb, 'He who will see Pisa must go to Genoa.'

overthrow by Archbishop Ruggieri (Inf. xxxiii. 13, note) had reinstated the Ghibelin influence.

It remains to explain the new feud, which was introduced into Florence about the time of Dante's priorate, and which led to his exile. I shall take the liberty of borrowing Mr. Symonds' admirably lucid account¹.

'The new curse came from Pistoja—Pistoja which Dante calls the lair of noxious beasts. This little town, which the modern traveller from the North to Florence sees outspread beneath him like a puzzle, as the express train from Bologna sweeps down the curves of the Apennine railway, harboured in the thirteenth century two families of Cancellieri. They were descended from the same ancestor, but were the families of separate mothers, one of whom was named Bianca. Hence half the Cancellieri were called Bianchi, and the other half, for the sake of distinction, Neri. These cousins do not seem to have lived in less than ordinary medieval amity, until a lad of the Neri wounded one of the Bianchi in a quarrel, and was sent by his father to apologise at the house of the injured man. The head of the Bianchi branch² did not see fit to treat the matter lightly. He took the youth and chopped his right hand off upon a dresser, and bade him tell his father that "Injuries are effaced with blood and not with words." Here indeed was enough to set Pistoja by the ears. One half of the citizens sided with the Neri, and another half with the Bianchi, and the city was possessed by internecine warfare.

'Now came the turn of Florence. At first the Florentine citizens contented themselves with securing the leaders of both Pistojan factions and imprisoning them in Florence. They might as well have sprinkled fire and brimstone through every street. Among their own families were two, the one

¹ Introd. to Study of Dante, p. 55.

² The account of Landino differs from this. He calls the perpetrator of the cruel act a 'young man.' Machiavelli also gives other names (ii. 4). Moreover he is said to have done it on account of an insult offered to his own father; and to have immediately hastened to complete the sum of his iniquity by the murder of his victim's father. He is probably the Focaccia of Inf. xxxii. 63.

old and poor, called Donati, the other rich and recent, called Cerchi. The former were headed by Corso de' Donati, the latter by Viero de' Cerchi; and I need not add, they were at feud. The Donati took the part of the Cancellieri Neri; the Cerchi that of the Cancellieri Bianchi. In this way, through the private enmities of two Pistojan and two Florentine houses, the state of Florence was divided between black and white.* All this while Florence was ostensibly Guelph. The Neri and Bianchi were subdivisions which in time became respectively pure Guelphs and disaffected Guelphs, but which in their commencement were wholly unpolitical.'

DANTE'S LIFE.

OF Dante's ancestors before the twelfth century nothing certain is known. But the poet speaks with such evident pride of his descent¹, and with such contempt of the 'bestie Fiesolane²,' the Fiesolan upstarts of Florence, that he doubtless believed his family to be derived from the old stock of ancient Roman colonists who founded his native city; or, as Boccaccio and others affirm, from the noble Roman house of Frangipani, a member of which, named Eliseo, is said to have settled in Florence about the ninth century, and to have founded the family of the Elisei.

Cacciaguida degli Elisei³, a descendant of Eliseo, married Aldighiera degli Aldighieri of Ferrara, and their son was the founder of the Florentine Aldighieri, and the great-grandfather of Dante. Moronte, brother of Cacciaguida, continued the Elisei family. The Aldighieri, as the Elisei, were of noble rank. Their houses occupied important positions in Florence, those of the latter being in the Via degli Speziali, near the Mercato Vecchio, and those of the former near the piazza of the Donati. They possessed also castles and estates in the country⁴. The Aldighieri, or Alighieri, were Guelphs, and were exiled in the memorable years 1248 and 1260; but their banishments were of short duration, for on the first occasion they returned in 1251, and on the second in 1266⁵.

¹ For details see Par. xv. to xvii.

² Inf. xv. 61, 73; xvi. 73: cp. Par. xv. 126.

³ Cacciaguida was born about 1106 (Lombardi and Monti give 1090), and went with Conrad III on a Crusade to the East, where he died, A.D. 1148. Dante met him in Paradise (Canto xvi).

⁴ Dante himself 'aveva delle possessioni in Camerata a San Martino a Pagnolle, e in Piano di Ripoli: luoghi tutti vicini all città.' (Fr.)

⁵ See x. 48, note.

Brunetto Aldighieri, an uncle of Dante, held a position of honour in the battle of Monte Aperto, being one of the guards of the Carroccio.

Dante¹, or Durante, was the son of Aldighiero and Bella². He was born at Florence³ in May⁴ 1265. As this took place a year before the recall of the Guelphs, it has been conjectured that his parents had been allowed to return earlier than the rest of the exiles.

When little more than ten years of age he lost his father : but by the care of his mother and relations his education was entrusted chiefly to the celebrated Brunetto Latini, who taught him rhetoric, mathematics, and Latin. His early studies in Latin seem to have been mostly confined to the poets, for it was not till after the death of Beatrice that his enthusiasm for philosophy and theology was aroused. It is possible that he may have learnt music from Casella : and though there is no actual proof that this was so, it is evident that he felt the charm of Casella's art, for, meeting him in Purgatory, he asks to hear once more that 'song of love, which used to quiet me in all my longings.' Of painting too he must have had some knowledge, for he tells in the *Vita Nuova* how on the anniversary of his lady's death he betook himself to draw the likeness of an angel on certain tablets. But in painting, as in music, his poetical appreciation was probably far higher than his practical skill.

On May-day, 1274, when he was nine years old, Dante went with his father to a feast at the house of Folco Portinari, a wealthy citizen of Florence. It was here that he first saw, and seeing loved, Beatrice, the daughter of Folco. His passionate affection for her is fully described in the *Vita Nuova*, and in spite of the ideal form in which he has represented it, there can be no doubt that it was at first a real and personal attachment⁵.

¹ He was christened 'Durante.' In *Purg.* xxx. 50 he calls himself 'Dante.'

² It is not known to what family Bella belonged.

³ As he states, *Inf.* xxiii. 94.

⁴ *Par.* xxii. 110.

⁵ But not a few writers consider Dante's love to have been even from the first a philosophical or political enthusiasm which condescended to

For nine years his love burnt steadily. Love, as he says, held lordship over him, and made him perform all his pleasure, often bidding him to go forth in search of that youngest of the angels, the Lady Beatrice¹.

It was in 1283 that he met her, clothed in whitest colour, walking between two gentle ladies: and, passing through a street, she turned her eyes on him, and gave him salutation. He returned to his chamber, and, falling asleep, beheld his first vision of Love, who appeared to him in a mist of fire, bearing in his arms the sleeping form of Beatrice, and in his right hand a flaming heart. This vision he described in a sonnet—the first he made public.

At this time he was eighteen. The next six years he passed in intense devotion to love and study. Nor did he fail to take part in the political movements of his native city; for in 1289 we find him at the battle of Campaldino, fighting in the front rank, and contributing to the victory of the Guelphs. In August of the following year he was present at the capitulation of Caprona².

On the 9th of June, 1290, Beatrice died³. She had become the wife of Simone de' Bardi: and, if the devotion of Dante had on this account lost its less spiritual motives, much more was his love elevated and refined when she was taken from his sight. The intensity of his anguish at her death may to some degree be conceived from the pitiable picture that he has given of it in the *Vita Nuova*. For many months he was utterly overwhelmed by his grief. At length he found consolation—though a poor and temporary consolation—in the study of philosophy, and in the sympathy of a certain lady whose pity touched his heart. The storm of sorrow slowly passed, and he lifted his eyes to heaven, and once more beheld her that he loved—no longer the Beatrice whom he had known in human form, but transfigured in the brightness

choose the little daughter of Folco for its idol. Others have even denied the existence of Beatrice.

¹ *Vita Nuova*, ii.

² *Inf.* xxi. 94, xxii. 4.

³ Dante was then in Florence, and was engaged in writing a canzone in honour of Beatrice, when she died. He joined in the siege of Caprona two months later, being probably one of the four hundred horsemen that were sent to help the Lucchese. *Vita Nuova*, xxix-xxx; *Purg.* xxxii. 2.

of a divine radiance. Henceforth his love and adoration is for her who is his guide to lead him to Paradise and to the presence of God—Beatrice, Divine Wisdom.

It was during this period that he wrote his *Vita Nuova*; and when reading it one cannot but feel how it rises from the tones of a great despair to its triumphant close in the prayer 'that his spirit might go hence to behold the glory of its Lady, that is, of that blessed Beatrice, who gloriously gazeth on the face of Him who is through all ages blessed.'

Dante more than once alludes to the consolation that he had received in his time of sorrow, sometimes speaking of it as philosophy, whose charm had seduced him from true Wisdom, and at other times as that lady in whose eyes 'all pity seemed to be collected.' It is quite possible that this lady, whom he uses as the symbol of philosophy, was Gemma di Manetto Donati, whom he married in 1291. It is all the more probable because the houses of the Donati lay close to those of Dante, and he speaks of the lady as gazing upon him from a window and pitying his distress.

Of Gemma there is little known besides the fact that she bore him five sons and two daughters. Dante never mentions her or his children: and she did not accompany him in his exile. But although Dante's marriage was probably not a source of happiness to him, there seems no warrant for believing the statements of Landino and others, who represent Gemma as a veritable Xanthippe.

As a first step in his public life Dante enrolled himself in the sixth of the greater Guilds, the *Arte de' medici e speziali* (1295). His learning and ability soon won him distinction. According to Boccaccio he attended all the more important deliberations of the state, was a member of the Special Council, and was sent several times on embassies¹. On the 15th of

¹ Fraticelli mentions one '*al Comune di San Gemignano nel 1299.*' Sismondi however (ii. x.) doubts whether Dante took such an important part in the affairs of government as has been assigned to him. Certainly contemporary writers, as Dino Compagni and Giovanni Villani, do not speak of him thus; and later biographers have grossly exaggerated the facts. One (Marius Philadelphus) has brought the number of his embassies up to fourteen.

June, 1300, he was elected Prior with Palmieri Altoviti and Neri di Jacopo degli Alberti. From his priorate he dates all his misfortunes. 'Tutti li mali,' he says, 'e tutti gli inconvenienti miei dagli infausti comizi del mio priorato ebbero cagione e principio¹.'

It was in this year, as has been related, that the feud of the Neri and Bianchi was introduced into Florence, and became grafted on that of the Donati and Cerchi. The priors took the measure of banishing the leaders of both parties, the Donati and Neri to Castello della Pieve, the Cerchi and Bianchi to Serrezzano. Among the exiled Cerchi was Dante's friend Guido Cavalcanti, who fell ill, and was allowed to return². This fact was urged against Dante by his accusers in the following year.

Charles of Valois entered Italy in 1301, and was invited to Florence by the Neri, in order that with his help they might 'reform the state.' In this they were supported by papal influence; for they had persuaded Boniface that the Bianchi were not merely disaffected Guelphs, but disguised Ghibelins. It was therefore decided that an embassy should be sent to Rome to protest against the Pope's policy; and Dante, with three others, went on this mission. He never again saw his native city; for while Boniface trifled with the ambassadors at Rome, Charles had entered and was ravaging Florence. Dante hurried back, but when he reached Sienna he learnt that he had been accused of favouring the Cerchi and of opposing Charles, and that his houses and property had been given over to plunder. The Podestà, Cante de' Gabbrielli, soon after issued a summons against him and six hundred others, for peculation and other crimes, and on the 27th of January 1302 they were condemned to pay a heavy fine, and to suffer banishment for two years³. On the 10th of March a second sentence was pronounced on Dante, by which it was

¹ From a letter of Dante's, seen by his biographer Leonardo Bruni.

² See on x. 68.

³ See the original sentence, a strange medley of Latin and Italian, given by Sismondi (ii. x.). Tiraboschi (cited by Ozanam iv. p. 100) gives the text of the second sentence.

ordered that he should be burnt alive, if found within the territories of Florence.

The exiles, now openly declared Ghibelins, assembled first at Gargonza, a castle of the Ubertini between Arezzo and Sienna. Soon however they made Arezzo their headquarters, and constituted themselves into a formal body, making Alessandro da Romena their chief captain, and Dante one of their twelve councillors. At Arezzo Dante became intimate with his future patron, Uguccione della Faggiuola, the Ghibelin chief, to whom he is said to have dedicated the *Inferno*, and with whom we find him afterwards at Montefeltro and Lucca. On the night of July 21, 1304, the exiles, under Baschiera della Tosa, and in concert with the Pistoians, made an attempt to enter Florence: but through a misunderstanding they failed. Dante probably did not join in this attempt. He had begun to despise the petty spirit that actuated the Ghibelins, and to understand that he could no longer be of them, but must 'form a party for himself alone'.¹ Moreover, he still clung to the thought that it was not by force that he should return, but that one party and the other would have such hunger for him², that he would be restored to honour in his country.

Meantime Boniface VIII had died. His successor, Benedict XI, and after him Clement V, endeavoured to mediate between the hostile parties. But it was in vain: and Dante, leaving the Ghibelins, took to solitary wanderings. There are but few certain evidences by which we can trace his steps—far too few to form such a connected story as Troya has invented.

There is a legal document still existing which proves his presence in Padua on the 27th of August, 1306. Thence he seems to have gone to Lunigiana, where he was hospitably received by the Marquis Moroello Malaspina, to whom he is said to have afterwards dedicated the *Purgatory*.

¹ 'sì ch'a te fia bello

Averti fatta parte a te stesso.' (Par. xvii. 68.)

² 'Che.l' una parte e l'altra avranno fame
Di te.' (Inf. xv. 71.)

From Lunigiana he probably went to Casentino, and perhaps to Montefeltro. In 1309 he was at the monastery Del Corvo, near the mouth of the Macra, where he is said to have consigned a copy of the *Inferno* to Frate Ilario, superior of the monastery, in order that it might be forwarded to Uguccone¹. During the next year Dante was at Paris, and probably visited the Netherlands. It is even stated that he came to England, and studied theology for some time at Oxford².

Meantime the accession of Henry of Luxemburgh had aroused and encouraged the Ghibelins of North Italy, and Dante was not backward in testifying his loyalty. He hastened to Italy, was present at Milan when Henry received the iron crown (1311), and devoted his counsels if not his sword to the Deliverer of Italy³. It was at this time that he published his *De Monarchiâ*, the nature of which has been stated, and also addressed an enthusiastic letter to the princes and peoples of Italy. Soon afterwards he withdrew to Casentino, probably for the purpose of arousing the Guidi. From Casentino he sent to his native city a furious address⁴, beginning '*Dantes Allagherius Florentinus et exsul immeritus sceleratissimis Florentinis intrinsecus.*' It is filled with invective and sarcasm. 'What good,' he says, 'will be your ditch, your bastions and towers, when the eagle, terrible with plumes of gold, comes flying, she who, over Pyrenee or Caucasus or Atlas soaring, and supported by the breath of the celestial host, is wont on her strong pinions to look down on spreading ocean plains?' Nor was this enough; for, impatient at Henry's tardy policy, he wrote inciting him to leave Lom-

¹ See letter of Frate Ilario given by Longfellow (*Illustrations to translation of Inferno*, p. 199).

² This is very doubtful: Boccaccio however asserts, in a Latin poem addressed to Petrarch, that Dante went as far as Paris, '*extremosque Britannos.*' But this is probably a poetical expression, which is not to be accepted literally. Giovanni da Serravalle, who lived a century after Dante, was the first to state it definitely.

³ See Witte's *Dante-Forschungen*, xxii. '*Canzone di Dante in Morte di Arrigo vii.*'

⁴ Symonds' *Introd. to Study of Dante*, p. 76.

bardy and to turn all his power against Florence. The extravagant terms with which Dante in this letter hails the Emperor fall little short of blasphemy, while the language of denunciation that he pours on his native city is hardly to be equalled by the most terrible passages of the *Inferno*¹.

But Henry troubled himself little about Dante and his letters. His coronation took place at Rome in 1312, and in the following year he died. How great a downfall Dante's hopes suffered by the death of the Emperor it is not difficult to imagine. His monarchical enthusiasm proved as brief as it had been furious; and its disappointment left him once more a hopeless and homeless exile².

During the greater part of 1313 Dante was perhaps with the Guidi; but there are signs of much solitary wandering. Some affirm that he paid a second visit to Paris, and that he visited Germany³. It was most probably at this period⁴ that he found a temporary refuge at the convent of Sta. Croce di Fontana Avellana, on a slope of Monte Catria, a peak of the Apennines not far from Arezzo. Dante thus describes it in the twenty-first canto of the *Paradise*, a passage which he probably wrote on the spot:—

‘Between two shores of Italy rise cliffs,
And not far distant from thy native place,
So high, the thunders far below them sound,
And form a ridge that Catria is called,
Neath which is consecrate a hermitage.’

In this lovely and secluded spot he probably spent a part of the year 1313; and many a time may he have gazed from

¹ He applies to Henry the words ‘Behold the Lamb of God,’ and others of like character. He calls him the ‘Sun,’ and the ‘Sacred Sepulchre.’ Florence is called a fox, a viper, a tainted sheep; she is Myrrha and Amata, who maddened by an unnatural love hanged herself.

² See the *Canzone* quoted above; and cp. Cino da Pistoia, cvi. and cvii.

³ Vellutello states this. The following are other places that have claimed his presence; a tower of the Falcucci in the territory of Gubbio; Castello Colmollaro near the river Saonda, belonging to Busone da Gubbio; Udine; Friuli; Castello Tolmino.

⁴ Some however place this in 1308. The passage is *Par.* xxi. 106 foll., Longfellow's transl.

that ridge of Monte Catria towards his native land. For he still harboured the hope (a hope which his letter had now rendered vain) that he might be recalled with honour—not now as a politician, but as a poet. ‘If ever,’ he says, ‘the Sacred Poem, to which both heaven and earth have set their hand, shall overcome the cruelty that bars me out from that fair sheepfold, where a lamb I slumbered,

‘Con altra voce omai, con altro vello
Ritornerò poeta, ed in sul fonte
Del mio battesimo prenderò ’l capello¹’

But once more Dante was persuaded to put his trust in princes. His friend Uguccione had been made Signor of Pisa, and had also obtained possession of Lucca; and in this city the poet joined him. The successes of the Ghibelins, under the leadership of Uguccione, were crowned by the battle of Monte Catini, in 1315, when the Florentine and other Tuscan Guelphs, aided by Neapolitan allies, were completely defeated. Once again we find Dante’s enthusiasm fully aroused. Uguccione² is the great ‘Leader,’ the ‘One sent from God,’ the promised deliverer. But in the next year both Pisa and Lucca revolted from the cause, and once more Dante returned to his solitary wanderings. It must however be mentioned that while he was at Lucca he fell in love with a lady named Gentucca; but beyond her name, which Dante himself gives us³, nothing is known for certain.

The year after the battle of Monte Catini the Florentines offered terms of recall to the exiles, and among them to Dante. It was stipulated that they should pay a fine and walk in penitential robes through the streets of Florence to

¹ Par. xxv. 1 foll. The Cantos xxi.–xxv. were possibly written when at Sta. Croce, or in the neighbouring mountains of Gubbio; but the cantica was not put into a complete form till some years later. Troya says that the visit was made in 1318 (?), which would be more satisfactory as far as the Paradise is considered.

² There can be little doubt that he is the *dux* (five hundred, five, and ten) of Purg. xxxiii. 45.

³ Purg. xxiv. 37: perhaps also the ‘pargoletta’ of Purg. xxxi. 59.

the church of San Giovanni. These conditions Dante rejected with indignation. 'Is this, then,' he asks, 'the glorious mode by which Dante Alighieri is recalled to his fatherland after the anguish of an exile of three lustres? . . . If I may not enter Florence by a road of honour, I will never enter therein. What! shall not I be able from every spot of the earth to behold the sun and the stars? Shall I not under every clime of the sky be able to meditate the sweetest truths?'

It was about this time—at the end of 1316 or the beginning of 1317—that he found a home at the court of Cane della Scala, lord of Verona. This young prince seems to have treated the poet with generosity and kindness, and Dante ever speaks of him with gratitude¹. But he was still young², and his gay court must have ill suited the stern and meditative poet, who found himself in the midst of jesters and revellers. Although his friend Uguccone was probably with him at Verona, being in command of Can Grande's forces, and though his sons Pietro and Jacopo joined him there, and though he was hospitably treated by his host, being often a guest at his table³, yet he does not seem to have been happy during these three years. He was beginning to prove

'Come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e come è duro calle
Lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale.'

Whether his sensitive nature took offence at some supposed insult, as some say, or whether he was merely weary of a court life, is not known; but in 1320, on the invitation of Guido Novello da Polenta, he left Verona and found his last resting place in Ravenna. This Guido was the nephew of

¹ 'la cortesia del gran Lombardo,

Ch'n la scala porta il santo uccello.' (Par. xvii. 71.)

It is said by a few historians that Dante went to Verona after leaving the Ghibelins in 1304, and was received by Alboino della Scala; and this passage from the *Paradise* seems to allege that it was his *first* refuge.

² At the most twenty-five. His birth was probably in 1291.

³ See Sism. iii. p. 279. There were many other distinguished exiles at the court, and it is possible that their company was not agreeable to Dante. There was evidently an unpleasant ostentation in Can Grande's munificence, to which a proud spirit would be loath to submit.

Francesca da Rimini¹, and a man of a refined and noble nature—such a man as would win the heart of the poor wanderer. At Ravenna, among the pine woods of Chiassi, and by the Adriatic shore, where the Po descends with its tributary streams in search of peace, Dante too found peace and happiness². It was here—perhaps amidst the vast avenues of those fragrant pines—that he composed the most divinely inspired portion of his sacred poem, the conclusion of the Paradise.

In the spring of 1321 Guido sent the poet on an embassy to Venice, and on his return he fell sick. Probably he had caught a fever while passing through the malarious lagoons and marshes of the lowlands; and, it may be, his vexation at the ill success of his mission aggravated the disease. For some months he lingered; but in the autumn he died, and went to look once more upon the glory of Paradise, and of his blessed Beatrice³.

Dante was fifty-six years and four months of age when he died, on the 14th September, 1321. They buried him in his poet's robes⁴, and Guido purposed to build over him a grand monument. But this he was not able to do: and it was not till 1483 that Bernardo Bembo erected the tomb which Guido had designed, and perhaps commenced. It was decorated with a bas-relief likeness of Dante, and a Latin epitaph. In 1691 Cardinal Domenico Corsi made additions; and in 1790 Cardinal Luigi Valenti raised the monument that is now seen. Florence has for centuries demanded from Ravenna the ashes of her great poet—but in vain. A cenotaph and a statue ill suffice, while Sante Croce wants his mighty dust.

¹ Sismondi says her father: but see on v. 90. The 'aquila da Polenta' is mentioned xxvii. 41. It is said that Dante paid a former visit to the Polentani in 1313.

² He was during this year invited by the poet Del Virgilio to Bologna, in order that he might receive the laurel crown. But he refused to accept that honour except from Florence.

³ Vita Nuova, fin.

⁴ 'In habito di Poeta,' Villani, ix. 33. Boccaccio says he was placed in a stone coffin.

'Ungrateful Florence! Dante sleeps afar,
 Like Scipio, buried by th' upbraiding shore:
 Thy factions, in their worse than civil war,
 Proscribed the bard whose name for evermore
 Their children's children would in vain adore
 With the remorse of ages.'

Pietro, Dante's son, settled in Verona, and in 1337 was Judge of the Commonwealth, and in 1361 Vicar of the College of Merchants. His Latin commentary on his father's poem proves him to have been a man of learning and ability. Jacopo also was a man of letters and a poet. We learn that he was in Florence in 1332, and that he was still alive in 1342. The other three sons died young. One daughter married; the other, Beatrice, took the veil in the convent of Santo Stefano dell' Uliva, in Ravenna. Gemma survived her husband: for she is described as a widow in a legal document. The last descendant of Dante (through Pietro) was Ginevra, who in 1549 married Count Antonio Sarego of Verona.

In conclusion we must mention his friendship with Cino da Pistoia, whose writings Dante quotes in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* as the purest specimen of Tuscan, and with whom he constantly classes himself as '*amicus ejus*.' With Guido Cavalcanti he was perhaps still more intimate; and Giotto, the great painter, was evidently indebted to Dante's friendship for many ideas¹, and has repaid the debt by giving to posterity the only trustworthy likeness of the poet². Besides these he was acquainted with Oderisi da

¹ As seen, for instance, in the Church of San Francesco at Assisi, and Chapel of the Arena at Padua (erected 1303). The frescoes of Giotto (for instance those in the Chapel of Sta. Maria Novella) are evidently indebted to Dante for their inspiration; as are many of the frescoes of the Campo Santo. See Ampère's *Voyage Dantesque*, p. 238 foll.

² This was painted on the wall of the chapel of the palace at Florence. Filippo Villani first (about 1400) mentioned the fact; and Vasari, in his life of Giotto, repeated the statement (1550). But for centuries its existence was forgotten. It was covered with whitewash; and a nail was unfortunately driven through the eye. In 1840 Mr. Wilde, an American, and Mr. Kirkup, an Englishman, discovered the fresco. Marini, a Florentine painter, foolishly 'restored' it to such an extent that it is now almost valueless. Some copies were however made of it before this restoration. See also the photograph of the mask of Dante in Mr. Symonds' book.

Gubbio, the illuminator (*Purg.* xi. 79), Casella, the musician (*Purg.* ii. 91), Dapo degli Uberti, who was probably the son of Farinata, and the father of the poet Fazio, and also with Cecco d' Ascoli, author of the *Acerba*, a poem in *sesta rima*, in which he attacks his former friend.

Besides the *Divina Commedia*, Dante wrote in Italian the *Vita Nuova*; a *Canzoniere*, or collection of canzoni ballads and sonnets; the *Convito*, a philosophical commentary on three of his canzoni. In Latin, the *De Monarchia*; the treatise *De Aqua et Terra*; the *De Vulgari Eloquio* (only two books of which he finished); certain *Eclogues* to the poet Giovanni del Virgilio. Besides these there exist various letters, and there are canzoni and sonnets, which are by some attributed to him and by others to Cino.

ORIGINS OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE.

THERE are two theories about the formation of the Italian tongue. The first, which is chiefly advocated by M. Raynouard, supposes that before the great Germanic invasion the Latin language, in a pure form, was spoken throughout all the provinces of the Empire, and that this Latin was suddenly and universally fused with the language of the invaders, and formed a 'primitive Romance language.' This primitive Romance was, says M. Raynouard, 'the common language of all the peoples who were subject to Charlemagne throughout the south of Europe.' About A.D. 1000 this universal language broke up as suddenly as it had been formed, and each nation modified it by their peculiar genius, and formed dialects of the primitive Romance. Thus what are called the seven Romance languages arose.

The second theory admits to some extent the influence of the Teutonic invasion, but traces the gradual and separate development of each of the Romance languages from the various forms of corrupt Latin that undoubtedly existed in the provinces, and even in Italy and at Rome itself, under the Empire.

The truth of this seems to rest on two cardinal facts, to support which there is overwhelming evidence. First, that from very early times there existed, side by side with classical Latin, a popular dialect at Rome, and various provincial dialects in other parts of the Empire. Second, that in Italy at a later period the vulgar dialect separated itself wholly from learned Latin, and by a natural process,

influenced to some extent by German contact, produced Italian.

1. The natural process by which a new dialect is developed from a synthetical language, such as Latin, is called decomposition; that is, the use of inflexion is forgotten, and the relations of words are expressed no longer by case-endings and the like, but by separate parts of speech. Some of the necessary results will be—

1. The use of auxiliary verbs:
2. The loss of case-endings, and the use of prepositions:
3. A more invariable arrangement of the sentence, so as to distinguish subject and object, governed words, etc.:
4. The articles.

That such changes as these had begun at an early stage of Latin is proved by old inscriptions as well as by expressions that crept into the classical language. But it is needless to do more than merely state this fact here ¹.

Later we have the express testimony of classical writers to the existence of a vulgar dialect, which they call the '*sermo rusticus*²,' or '*castrensis*,' spoken by the country people and by the soldiers, who used it at this time, as we shall find them using it much later, in their military songs.

And besides the vulgar Latin of Rome we find Gallic and Etruscan existing as living languages in Italy as late as A.D. 150³. In Sicily and Calabria there remained much longer a very considerable Greek element, as well as at Marseilles and in the south of France. In Spain there was the Iberian

¹ Examples: (XII Tables) '*quei im vinctom habebit*' = '*qui eum vinxerit*'; '*ea*' used as an article in *senatus cons.* of Bacchanals; the loss of the old locative case even in classical Latin; '*oino*' = '*vinum*,' '*urbe*' = '*urbem*,' etc., in inscriptions, with which compare the forms '*Romulu*,' '*gravi*,' and (genit.) '*fratri*,' in Ennius and such writers; '*cognitum*' and '*exploratum habeo*,' and like forms in Cicero. (Cp. *ἀτιμάσας ἔχει, ἀρέσκοντ' ἐστίν.*) The popular dialect is well illustrated by the comic writers, as Plautus and Terence. Possibly the Fescennine songs were composed in the old vulgar dialect of Rome.

² Also called '*vulgaris*,' '*militaris*,' and '*usualis*.' The camp dialect may have differed from the rustic.

³ According to Aulus Gellius. In Gaul there were both Gallic and Celtic, which were perhaps different dialects, and also the Aquitanian. In

(perhaps the modern Basque), and in Africa the Punic. It was therefore impossible that the Latin should not suffer still greater change in those parts than it is known to have suffered at Rome, and to have given rise to certain peculiar dialects formed by the combination of Latin with the native languages.

The most striking evidence of the existence of the Roman dialect is given by the Catacomb inscriptions, a few examples from which will show how far the decomposition of the language had proceeded among the uneducated classes three centuries before the German invasion¹. Firstly, the 's' is often dropped in the nominative: thus, 'bitali' (vitalis), 'salbo' (salvus), 'unu' (unus). Secondly, the 'm' of the accusative is lost: as in 'locu,' 'homine,' 'dece' (decem), 'ad ursu pileatu'. Thirdly, the force of the inflexions is lost: as in 'quae cum eum bene vixit'; and prepositions are consequently introduced, as, 'de via noba' (viae novae). Fourthly, the verbs sometimes approach the Italian in form, as 'fece' (fecit), 'requiescei' (requiescit), 'vissei' (vixit).

The chief languages that were gradually built on the intermixture of rustic or camp Latin and the native speech were the Provençal (Langue d'Oc), the French (Langue d'Oil, which extended over Picardy, Normandy, and Burgundy), the Castilian, the Portuguese, the Catalanian, the Italian, and the Walachian. Embedded in these we find numbers of words that evidently belong to the original native languages, and which cannot possibly be referred to the Germanic invasions. Thus in Walachian there is a very strange ingredient of words the source of which is completely unknown. In Switzerland there are many such words, evidently not of German origin². The Rhaeto-Romance, or Grison, contains

490 St. Jerome compares the language of the Galatians with the Gallic of Trèves. In Italy we also find the Opican or Oscan, Ligurian, and other languages that may have helped to corrupt the rustic Latin. See Brachet's Historical French Grammar for the whole subject.

¹ For further details see Fauriel, vol. ii., and for inscriptions Burgon's 'Letters from Rome.'

² For the Celtic element in French see Brachet's Grammar, and Littré's History of the French Language. In the Swiss Canton Fribourg there are words of unknown origin; and these words are also found in parts of France.

an element that is perhaps the remnant of one of the most mysterious of European languages, the Etruscan; for tradition relates that Rhaetia was occupied by Etruscans¹. The presence of the antique element in such considerable quantity supports the theory that the Romance languages were formed gradually from corrupt Latin, and not by a sudden flood of German element mingling itself with pure Latin. And if we turn to Italian we shall find, besides the Teutonic words, which are to be traced to the German invasions, a large number of words which evidently belong to the ancient native languages, and which were mingled with Latin at an early period, and so preserved. Thus parts of the verb 'essere' are said to be of Etruscan or Umbrian origin; 'sono' is 'esuno' or 'esono,' rather than the Latin 'sum'; 'esso' and 'isso' are found in Umbrian. Gallo-Celtic also contributes its share: as 'biccolo,' 'fello,' 'brio,' and other words. The Greek element was probably introduced at different times, partly through the maritime intercourse with the Greek towns of South Italy, and partly through Southern France, which was flooded with Greek terms by the foreign colony of Marseilles².

It seems certain therefore that long before the German invasion there existed in Italy a vulgar dialect (or dialects) of Latin, considerably corrupted by the original languages of that country: and thence Italian was developed. Now, that the course of that development was modified by the German invasions is not to be denied; but it was modified to a much smaller extent than has been believed. The temporary incursions of Goths and Visigoths could have had little influence. The Lombards were the only noteworthy barbarians who took up a permanent abode in Italy, and they were scarcely a hundred thousand warriors scattered over a great country.

¹ Among the antique words used in the Grisons is Tschingel (a rock), a word familiar to Alpine climbers.

² Many of the Greek words in Italian are sea-terms: as 'ciurma' (κέλευσμα, Sp. 'chusma'), 'falo' (φάρος), 'fanale' (φανός?), 'poggia' (ποδίον) 'artimone' (perhaps through Latin). The ancient Provençal contains many Greek words: as 'tapinar' (ταπεινός), 'stilo' (column, στῦλος), 'cara' (visage, κάρα), 'dipnar' (δειπνήν).

II. Secondly, we can trace for a long period after the Germanic invasion the *co-existence* of a tolerably pure Latin, understood by the people, and of a vulgar dialect. This Latin however gradually died away: the vulgar dialect became the only spoken language, and at length took the place of Latin even in literature. But this last event did not occur for a long time. Latin remained in Italy, as in other parts of the Empire, the only official language recognised by law, religion and science. Until the fourteenth century, and later, most of the more important subjects of literature were discussed exclusively in Latin; and the vulgar tongue was held unworthy of use except in ballads and love-songs.

That Latin was understood by the common people in the ninth century is proved by military and national songs. In 871 the soldiers of the Emperor Louis II composed a war-song which relates how 'Louis the holy, the pious Augustus,' was treacherously made prisoner by the Duke of Benevento. It begins thus—

'Audite omnes fines terrae orrore cum tristitia
Quale scelus fuit factum Benevento civitas,
Lhuduicum comprehenderunt sancto pio Augusto.'

The poem is divided into triplets, and the rhythm is dependent on accent rather than quantity. Its language is very degraded. Another chant, composed about 924, was sung by the soldiers of Modena when they were guarding their city against the Hungarians. It is far more grammatical than the former, and is of great beauty and simple grandeur.

'O tu qui servas armis ista moenia,
Noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila!'

Thus it begins; and after invocations to Christ and to Mary the glorious mother, it repeats the refrain,—

'Resultet echo comes: eja, vigila!
Per muros eja, dicat echo vigila!'

Now such songs as these on great national events are found in the historians of a much later date; and they were plainly introduced into the prose works for the purpose of popular recitation. These verse episodes are therefore a proof that

as late as the fourteenth century a Latin was understood by the common people. For instance, we have such songs in the Latin history of Alberto Mussato, who flourished about the end of the thirteenth century. A chant on the death of William II of Sicily in 1189, and another on the capture of Damietta by the Saracens are found in the Chronicle of Ricardo da S. Germano¹. The Latin Rythmus of Piero delle Vigne, the Chancellor of Frederick II, is another specimen of rude Latin verse, intended for popular recital. A few lines will show its character.

‘Credo quod Gregorius, qui dictus est nonus,
Fuit Apostolicus vir, sanctus et bonus:
Sed per mundi climata strepit ejus sonus,
Quod ad guerras fuerat nimis pronus.’

There is also evidence of another nature. For instance, it is related that in 963 a council was held at Rome for the purpose of deposing Pope John XII. The Emperor Otho I presided at the council, and, as the Romans did not understand his Saxon speech, his words were translated by Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, into Latin. Again, as late as the thirteenth century, Eccelino is said to have put to death a number of Paduans of all classes for having circulated some verses of Phaedrus, the Latin Aesop, which had been quoted in sarcastic allusion to his tyranny. Such are some of the facts that prove the existence from early times until at least the fourteenth century of a degraded Latin, spoken and understood by the common people: and this could not have existed if, according to M. Raynouard’s theory, the German invasion totally overthrew the spoken Latin, and founded Romance, about the sixth century.

But side by side with this Low Latin there was the vulgar dialect developing itself into Italian². I shall state first some direct and historical evidence; secondly, that given by names

¹ Additional proofs are—Boccaccio’s Tales, some of which (as v. 5) are probably taken from Low Latin versions; Alberigo’s Vision; and many of the Latin historians cited by Muratori, who were evidently popular writers.

² The following remarks are founded on Fauriel’s chapter, ‘Formation de l’Italien.’

occurring in public documents; and thirdly the internal evidence afforded by the corruption apparent in writers of professedly learned Latin.

Inscriptions belonging to the early periods of Italian history are unfortunately almost entirely wanting: so that until the twelfth or thirteenth century we look in vain to this source for information about the language. But there is an inscription on a slab of marble which commemorates how, in 1184, Frederick I was saved by his host Ubaldo degli Ubaldini from the charge of a stag at bay. There are thirty-six short rhymed lines, of which the first six are Latin and the rest Italian. Another specimen of this early Italian was found engraved on a stone in Ferrara cathedral. The stone was lost in 1572; but copies exist of the inscription, which bore the date 1135—the year in which Italian is said to have been first used for literature. Again, it is related that in the strife between the Popes Victor and Alexander III (1160) a party cry used by the Romans was ‘Papa Vittore: S. Pietro l’ elegge.’ A similar proof is afforded by the popular cry of the Milanese earlier than 1118, at the election of an archbishop—‘Ecco la stola.’ Another fact will carry back the existence of a vulgar dialect, if not a fully formed Italian, to the middle of the tenth century. Gonzon, a learned Italian, was summoned to Germany by Otho I about A. D. 960. On his way he stayed for a few days at the monastery of Saint-Gall, and excited the ridicule of the monks by a faulty Latin construction¹. His rejoinder was: ‘The monk of Saint-Gall has wrongly considered me to lack the knowledge of grammatical art, although I be sometimes impeded by the use of our vulgar tongue, which is related to Latin.’

Next, there are many proper names of a purely Italian character, found in ancient documents. In the thirteenth century we find ‘Pazzi,’ ‘Ubbriachi,’ ‘Infangati,’ ‘Capo in sacchi,’ ‘Forti in guerra,’ ‘Viva che vince,’ and many others. In the eleventh, ‘Scanno-becco,’ ‘Rubacastello,’ ‘Mala-gonella.’ In the tenth, ‘Barba-lisciado,’ ‘Domenico Tornafolia,’ ‘Lambertus qui cognominatur Cavinsacco’ (Capo in sacco). In the

¹ He used an accusative instead of a dative.

ninth and eighth some are found, but usually disguised by Latin terminations, as 'Fuscarus,' and 'Bonella.' Names of places are also common; as 'Fundo Scaciano, Puciano, Bordunelo Galiano de sopra,' 'Soprana minore,' 'Cella pitchinna,' 'Strata talliata.'

Lastly, we must examine the influence that this vulgar tongue had in corrupting the Latin of pedantic writers, in doing which we shall light upon signs of the decomposition of the language. In public documents dating from the seventh to the eleventh century we find many Italian words, especially those of common and rural life; as, 'casa,' 'sala,' 'fontana,' 'prato,' 'rocca,' 'bottega,' 'cambiare,' 'favellare'; also 'unu,' 'quatro' 'cinquanta,' and the like. In the Latin historians often occur such sentences as 'Tunc Mediolanenses erant in guerra,' 'Ramanserunt ad guardam,' 'Plus de septuaginta brachiis altum,' in which the Italian word or idiom is apparent. But in many cases the influence of the vulgar tongue is betrayed only by some analytic expression, and it is here especially that the process of decomposition comes to view. In the first place (as has been remarked before) it is to be expected that case-terminations should be disregarded. Such we find to have been the case. If the writer affected the use of such inflexions, he often used them with a total ignorance of their force. Thus such jargon as 'Feminas qui natas fuerint' was perpetrated¹. Other writers more honestly gave up such attempts, and adopted for all cases some mutilated form of the Latin word. The crude form was generally taken², and a vowel termination added, as the genius of the Italian language required, the distinctions of gender and number generally resembling those of the Latin, but case-endings being lost. Consequently prepositions were necessary. In the documents of the eighth and ninth centuries all the modern prepositions are found possessing almost exactly the

¹ 'Per quid causam' occurs in the chant 'Audite' given above. Cp. also 'sancto pio Augusto,' as an accusative, in l. 3.

² Others say the ablative case; and the rule holds as well, but seems devoid of reason. In such cases as 'lato' (from 'latus-eris') or 'vello,' neither formula holds.

same force as they have at present. Of these, it may be remarked, 'da' alone is of purely Italian origin. Again, we find the rule (3) of decomposition obeyed by the fixed arrangement of the sentence, so that subject and object may be distinguished. The articles (rule 4) also appear, 'ipse,' 'iste,' or 'ille,' being used as definite, and 'unus' as indefinite. But the clearest proof lies in the verbal phrases. Synthetic expressions are broken up, and auxiliaries replace tense and mood. Thus 'res quam visus sum habere' would be used for 'res quam habeo'; 'poteret esse' for 'posset'; 'occisus factum est,' for 'occisus est.' The word 'habeo' is constantly employed as the auxiliary to form the future. As early as 715 we meet, in a document relating to some proceeding at law, 'Si interrogatus fueris, quomodo veritatem dicere habes?' From this use of 'habeo' are derived the future forms in French, Spanish, and Italian¹.

After this brief sketch of the origin of Italian, it will be interesting to hear what Dante himself has to say about the language at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The first book of his *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is a treatise on this subject. He begins by considering the first origins of speech, and indulging his imagination about the language of the angels; and comes to the conclusion that Adam's language was perfect, but that all others since the time of Babel have been merely relatively good and bad. For though each man considers his own language and country to be the best, yet it is possible that there is a better language and a more lovely country elsewhere—nay, there may even be a sweeter spot than Florence in the earth, though for the exiled Dante, whose home is now the wide world, none such might ever exist².

He then gives the general divisions of language. The principal Romance languages are distinguished by their affirmative particles, and are divided into three groups, 'nam alii *oc*, alii *oil*, alii *sì* afirmando loquuntur.' Of these three

¹ As Fr. 'servir-ai,' Ital. 'servir-ò,' Sp. 'comeré' = 'hé de comer.' See Fauriel, ii. p. 422, and Brachet's *Hist. French Grammar* (Clar. Press), p. 120.

² Lib. i. cap. vi.

the 'lingua di sì,' or Italian, seems to him to be the more venerable because of the near connection of 'sì' with the Latin 'sic.'

Now this Italian is a natural language and therefore nobler than the Latin of Dante's times¹. But what is Italian? There are many dialects, but where is that one which may be accepted as the national tongue? Dante, in his search for this 'idioma illustre, cardinale, aulicum, curiale²,' examines the principal dialects to see if any are worthy of acceptance.

The Roman vulgar tongue he calls a 'tristiloquium' (dreary parlance) and the basest of all the dialects. They say, for instance, 'Me sure, quinte dici?' for 'Mia sorella che dici?' After these come the people of the Marca d'Ancona, the Spoletani, the Milanese, and the Istrians, 'who with a coarse accent gulp out "çes fastù?" (che fai tu?)' The Sardinians alone are without any dialect, imitating grammatical Latin like apes.

The Sicilians and Apulians claim a superior dialect; but this is due to the fact that the (so-called) Sicilian style of poetry is popular, and much is passed off under the name which is not written in Sicilian dialect. In fact, while their educated writers use refined and recognised words (*curialiora verba*), the common people speak a low and barbarous jargon (*turpiter barbarizant*). They say, for instance, 'Volzera che chiangesse lo quatraro' (*vorrei che piangessi il fanciullo*). Among the Tuscans there are various dialects—the Florentine, the Pisan, the Lucchese, the Siennese, and others. Dante gives specimens of each, and it is curious that two of the words that he gives as vulgar Florentine are used by himself

¹ In the *Convito* he says Latin is nobler than Italian, and in the *Vita Nuova*, when speaking of language, he gives no preference to Italian. See also on *Inf.* x. 62. But here the subject is treated on other grounds. He upheld Latin against a dialect, as more 'fixed and incorruptible'; but here the national language, the 'latinum illustre,' is nobler in kind than a dead language.

² 'Aulicum' corresponds to the 'lingua cortegiana,' although in the old Italian version of Trissino 'curiale' is thus translated. 'Curiale' seems rather to mean 'legalised by the nation,' and 'aulicum' is 'royal.' See *Vulg. Eloq.* i. xviii.

in the Poem—namely, ‘manuchiare’ (for ‘manducare’), and ‘introcque,’ (frattanto). But although almost all the Tuscans employ this degraded speech, yet some few recognise the capabilities of the vulgar dialect, and put it to a good use—such are Guido Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, and ‘one other’ (Dante himself) among the Florentines, and Cino of Pistoia.

The Genoese he dismisses with the contemptuous remark that ‘if they lost their *z*, they would either have to go without speaking, or find a new language; for most of their speech is *z*.’ Of the people of Romagna, the Paduans syncopate their words terribly: as ‘mercò’ for ‘mercato,’ ‘bontè’ for ‘bontate.’ Those of Verona and Brescia use a strange affirmative ‘magara’ (‘Dio lo volesse’; perhaps from *μακάριος*): and the latter say ‘nof’ for ‘nove,’ and ‘vif’ for ‘vive.’ The Bolognese¹ tongue, being intermixed with dialects of Ferrara, Modena, and others, is perhaps the best. Yet it is not good enough for adoption as the national tongue. No: noble actions belong to Italy as a nation, and so must the language be found in, and formed from, all Italy.

¹ Dante gives (Inf. xviii.) an affirmative used by the Bolognese—‘sipa.’

RISE OF ITALIAN POETRY.

A rude native poetry existed from early times in Italy: but towards the middle of the twelfth century an entirely new growth arose.

The influence that developed the germs of this Italian poetry was that of the Provençal Troubadours¹. First I shall briefly touch upon the native poetry, and then show how the Troubadours were introduced into North Italy, and what their influence was.

I. It has been seen that the popular songs of the country were generally written in a barbarous Latin. About the beginning of the thirteenth century it is probable that Italian began to take the place of this Latin. Now when the Provençal style became fashionable, the common people were not affected by the romantic and chivalric ecstasies of the Troubadours in the same manner as the educated classes. While among the nobles and at royal courts the new Italian love-poetry, developed by the Provençals, was springing up, the people had a poetry of their own. The satiric *Sirventes*, and

¹ Some writers, such as Sismondi, Andrès, Ginguené, and others, have greatly magnified the Arabian influence through the Sicilian school of poetry. But there is no doubt, not only from what Dante himself says of that school (p. lvi), but from a mass of evidence, that the rise of Tuscan poetry was due almost entirely to the Provençals. I have therefore spoken of the Sicilian merely as a branch of the national poetry. See on this subject Fauriel, ii. xvi. and i. vii.-x; Hallam's *Introd. to Literature of Europe*, vol. i. i.; Sismondi's *Hist. of Lit. in S. Europe*, vol. i.; Raynouard's *Poètes Provençaux*; A. W. Schlegel's *Language and Literature of Provence*. The Arabs of Spain unquestionably exercised great influence on the Provençals themselves, and thus indirectly on Italy; but this fact lies outside of the present subject.

the Ballads, that were composed by Italian Troubadours, are visible proofs that these poets, sometimes growing weary of their one interminable subject of love, indulged their genius in the popular style. Further, songs and ballads written in Italian, and of a nature quite distinct from the Provençal, are found. One, for instance, was composed on the battle of Monte Catini; two verses of another are given by Dante, as specimens of Pisan dialect,—

‘ Bene andonno di Fanti
Di Fiorenza per Pisa.’

Another is a ballad on the brave resistance that Messina offered to Charles of Anjou. Piero delle Vigne moreover composed popular Italian as well as Latin verses. Lastly, the numbers of old ballads that are still extant confirm the fact that this popular Italian poetry continued for a long time, if not always, uninfluenced by the Provençal style. It may therefore be looked upon as the veritable native stock of Italian poetry, springing directly from the old Latin songs. But the graft of Provençal poetry was of a far more luxuriant and splendid growth.

II. The immediate results of Provençal influence extended over about 150 years, which may conveniently be divided into three periods—first, that of the Provençal Troubadours in Italy; second, that of Italian imitators in the Provençal language; third, that of Italian writers in Provençal style but in the Italian language.

The relations between the South of France and North Italy had long been friendly. Considerable intercourse was kept up by the commerce that existed between the maritime and mercantile cities of Italy and the great centres of trade in South France, such as Arles, Nice, and especially Marseilles. The old municipal institutions, moreover, of the two countries sympathised with one another in their struggles for civic freedom. As early as 1110 we hear of treaties between Marseilles and Pisa. Nice, Arles, Montpellier, and Narbonne were constantly allied with either Genoa or Pisa. In 1117 the Pisans proved their good feeling by sending an expedition

against the Moors of Spain. Further, the German Emperors, by laying claim to the kingdom of Italy and also that of Arles, brought the two countries to close relations. Now Provençal Troubadours were favoured by the Emperors, and followed the imperial court from land to land. In 1162, after the destruction of Milan, Frederick I held his court at Milan, and that was perhaps the first occasion that these poets were publicly introduced into Italy. One of the first of them of whom we know was Augier of Vienne. In a short time the Italian grandes followed the fashion, and attached Provençal singers to their courts. At Montferrat, at the court of the Dukes of Este in Ferrara, at that of the lords of Malaspina in the valley of the Macra, and at Verona, we hear of celebrated Troubadours, such as Bernard de Ventadour, Raimbault de Vagueiras, and Pierre Vidal. The last-mentioned of these was not merely a love-singer. His verses, for instance, on the expedition of Henry VI against Naples and Sicily show signs of a national enthusiasm, which plainly declares the new tendencies developed by Provençal song when transplanted to Italy. An additional proof of this is given by the satiric Sirventes and Ballads which have been already mentioned as existing at this period, and as deviating from the lyrical character of the Troubadour poetry¹.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century took place the iniquitous crusade against the Albigenses, whereby Provence was desolated. Many of the Provençal Troubadours migrated to Italy during and after the war, and, as was to be expected from the horrors that they had experienced, sang for the future less about love than revenge. But their violent hatreds, however justifiable, were not likely to gain universal sympathy in a strange land, and among Guelph cities, although they were patronised by the nobles, and by the Emperor Frederick II.

¹ It may be noticed in passing that while the Troubadour poetry was almost entirely lyrical, that of the Trouvères in the North of France was decidedly epic. 'Nothing,' says Sismondi, 'can be more dissimilar than their poems.' The Provençal Sirventes seem to have differed from the Italian in being martial and political odes, not of a popular nature. For the difference between the Love of the Provençals and that of the Italians, see Symonds, *Introd. to Study of Dante*.

Gradually their influence decreased, and ceased, although a few, by interesting themselves in the national affairs of Italy, or in returning to their old subject of love, secured a measure of fame¹. But their day was past: and the second period, that of the Italian imitators, began. Even before this time we hear of an Italian, Alberto di Malaspina, writing poems in the Provençal language (1180-1204). It was not, however, until after the Albigenian war that this custom prevailed. Among many names it will be sufficient to select two, Ferrari of Ferrara, who lived till the end of the thirteenth century, and Sordello of Mantua, who has been immortalised rather by Dante's than by his own verse. As has been elsewhere related, Sordello forsook the Bolognese dialect for the Provençal.

Lastly we come to the period when the Italian language was accepted by the native poets. Much has been written on the greater moral and intellectual depth with which the subject of love was treated in Italy than in France. But it is impossible here to do more than refer all who would study the subject to the writings of the early Tuscan poets, many of which are translated by Rossetti, and to a delightful chapter by Mr. Symonds in his *Introduction to the Study of Dante*.

It has been shown how the political animosities of the refugee Provençals lost them favour among the mass of the people, but procured them the patronage of the Emperor himself. Now Frederick II held his court in his kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and it was from those parts that the first noteworthy utterances of the Italian Muse was heard. This Sicilian school became so famous, and its recognised language, which was called the '*lingua cortegiana*,' was so widely adopted as the language of poetry, that some have considered it to have originated Italian poetry. But this supposition,

¹ Some writers fancy that the Provençals, and with them the influence that they exercised over Italy, came utterly to an end in the Albigenian war. Among the last of the real Troubadours was the notorious Folquet, Bishop of Toulouse, the adviser of Simon de Montfort in the war. He died in 1231. The power that the subject of love possessed is not overstated by Dante when he says, in the *Vita Nuova* (xxv), that poems were first written in the vulgar tongues of 'oc' and 'si' in order that they might be understood by ladies who did not know Latin.

which is to a great extent founded on a false interpretation of Dante's remarks about the Sicilian dialect¹, is incorrect. The Sicilian style (which contained much of an Arabian element) and the 'lingua cortegiana' were introduced into Tuscany, and doubtless modified the growth of the Italian poetry in those parts: but both literatures were developed alike by Provençal influence.

Among the more celebrated singers of the Sicilian school were Piero delle Vigne, the Emperor Frederick II, and Henry and Enzo his sons².

In North Italy one of the first important schools (1250-1276) was that of Guido GuinCELLI of Bologna, whom Dante calls 'the father of myself and of my betters who have practised the sweet and gracious rhymes of love'; and again in the *Convito* 'that noble Guido³.' Among the disciples of the Bolognese school were Pannuccio and Lotto di ser Dato of Pisa, and Fra Guittone of Arezzo⁴, who is said to have perfected the structure of the sonnet, but who fell 'short of the sweet new style' of Dante's times.

Foremost among the actual cotemporaries and friends of Dante must be placed Cino of Pistoia. He cannot be said to have belonged to the same school of poetry as Dante and Guido Cavalcanti, but was the founder of the style which Petrarch afterwards imitated and brought to such exquisite perfection. Many of his sonnets and canzoni are extant; and some of these are addressed to Dante. Cino was famed not only for his poetry but for his immense knowledge of jurisprudence, and for his constancy to the beautiful Selvaggia, his mistress.

¹ See p. lvi.

² Speaking of royal poets Mr. Symonds says: 'Frederick the Emperor, Richard Cœur de Lion, Alfonso the Second, and Peter the Third of Aragon, Frederick the Third of Sicily, the Dauphin of Auvergne, the Count of Foix, the Prince of Orange, the Marquis of Montferrat, each and all crowned sovereigns, were composers in this (Provençal) tongue.'

³ Yet he says (*Purg.* xi.) that 'one Guido (Cavalcanti) has from the other (GuinCELLI) taken the glory of our tongue.'

⁴ One of the *Frati Gaudenti*, *Inf.* xxiii. 103. See *Purg.* xxiv. 56.

At Florence, besides Dante's master, Brunetto Latini, whom we can hardly call his cotemporary, we find, about 1270, a group of well-known names—Guido de' Cavalcanti, Dante's great friend¹, Lapo Gianni, and Dino de' Frescobaldi.

Such were some of the chief singers of Dante's times. Beautiful as many of their poems are, they are but the morning stars which faded away before the great sun that arose over Italy.

¹ See *Inf.* x. 63.

METRE AND VERSIFICATION.

THE Troubadours first made popular in Europe a versification which differed from that of the Romans and Greeks in two important points. Firstly, accent was substituted for quantity. Secondly, rhyme was made essential.

This system had been gradually developed by the genius of the new language. We find accent and rhyme used even in the popular Latin poetry¹. This is an evident sign that these peculiarities were naturally developed by the needs of the new prosody that was arising with the new vulgar tongues (for the Provençal and Italian were by nature strongly accented and rich in rhymes), and that they were not introduced from the literature of the Arabs, as some suppose².

At first, as was natural, the use of rhyme was inartistic. But the dirge-like refrains and monotonous cadences of ancient Provençal love-songs were soon replaced by verse more varied and melodious both in its rhythms and its rhymes. Traces of the old style are still to be found, and it will be worth while to quote one example. It is a love-dirge by Geoffrey de Rudel, of Blieux in Provence, written about 1160. I subjoin a free translation by Roscoe.

¹ See, for instance, the accent-metre of the 'Audite,' and the monorhyme of the 'Vigila,' quoted above.

² It is possible that some characteristics may have been borrowed by the Provençals from the Arabs of Spain, and by the Sicilian school from the Arabs of Sicily. The monotonous rhymes and mournful cadences of the old Troubadour poetry certainly have an Oriental character. But these are also found in the Latin poetry. See especially Sismondi's *Hist. Lit.* vol. i.

‘Irat et dolent m’en partray
 S’ieu non vey cet amour de luench,
 Et non say qu’oura la veray
 Car sont trop noutras terras luench.
 Dieu que fez tout quant van e vay
 Et forma aquest amour luench
 My don poder al cor car hay
 Esper vezer l’amour luench.’

‘Angry and sad shall be my way
 If I behold her not afar,
 And yet I know not when that day
 Shall rise, for still she dwells afar.
 God, who hast formed this fair array
 Of worlds, and placed my love afar,
 Strengthen my heart with hope, I pray,
 Of seeing her I love afar.’

The monotonous recurrence of the same word, however effective in such a piece as this, becomes intolerable in many cases. It was therefore abandoned, although we find something of the sort in later imitators. But although monotony was avoided, the repetition of a rhyme was much used, and with great artistic effect. ‘They varied their rhymes,’ says Sismondi, ‘in a hundred ways. They crossed and inter-crossed their verses, so that the return of the rhyme was preserved through the whole stanza¹.’

Provençal poems were of two kinds, *Chanzos* and *Sirventes*, both consisting of five stanzas and the envoy. The latter were distinguished from the former by treating of politics, war, and indeed any subject except love. Besides the chanzo, from which the Italian canzone is taken, there were *tenzons*, in which (as in the idylls of Theocritus and Virgil) two lovers address one another in successive stanzas; and *tourneyamens*, in which more than two take part. The *sextine*, a favourite among the Italians (sestina), consisted of six stanzas of six lines. The words, generally substantives, standing at the end of these six lines are repeated in the second stanza, but in such a manner that the first line of the second stanza is the same as

¹ This peculiarity was copied with indifferent success by the ‘heavy language’ of the German Minne-singer. Sism. Hist. Lit. i. 3.

the last of the first stanza. Thus in the six stanzas an entire revolution has been effected. The invention of the sextine is attributed to Arnaud Daniel¹. The sonnet is found in the Provençal, but it was developed if not originated by the Italians. Its modern form was fixed by Fra Guittone of Arezzo, as has been already said. Lastly, the stanza of ten lines, and the ballad, the first line of which is repeated as a refrain, owe their existence to the Troubadours.

Next let us consider rhythm. It will be noticed that all accent-rhythms are naturally iambic (◡ –) or trochaic (– ◡). The iambic is far better suited to the expression of lofty or earnest sentiment. We find it chosen by Archilochus for satire, the Athenians for tragedy, the Troubadours for their lyrics, the Trouvères for their Alexandrines, by English and German dramatic and epic writers. The later Spanish and Portuguese writers, such as Camoens, adopted the same; but an exception is offered by the early poetry of Spain, for which the trochee seems to have been deliberately chosen, as well by the metre of the *redondilha*, which is trochaic, and the ancient heroic verse (*verso de arte mayor*), which is dactylic.

The principal line that was formed in iambic rhythm was that of ten or eleven syllables. It superseded the shorter and less dignified verse of earlier times, and was adopted by almost all the nations of Europe. The French alone, says Sismondi, have not accepted the Provençal prosody, for, though they count the syllables and observe the rhyme, they have no natural accentuation in their own language, and deny its legitimate use in that of other nations. It is consequently impossible for them to feel the harmony of language to which poetry owes its most powerful effects.

This hendecasyllabic line is used in the Latin ‘Vigila,’ as will be seen from the verses quoted above. It was used in much of the more serious poetry of the Provençals and Italians. Dante² calls it the ‘most noble measure,’ and gives

¹ The greater Daniel; the lesser being Arnaud Merveil. See on Purg. xxvi. 142.

² De Vulg. Eloq. ii. 5.

examples of it, one from the writings of the king of Navarre :

‘ De fin Amor si vient sen et bonté,’

and another from Guido Guinelli :

‘ Al cuor gentil ripara sempre Amore.’

A musical ear, such as that of the Italians, preferred that the rhyme should be weak, that is, consisting of a strongly-accented syllable, followed by an unaccented vowel. Therefore by far the most usual verse was that of eleven syllables, although verses of ten or twelve were also used¹. The rules of this line were the following:—A *caesura*, or break, was considered necessary after the fourth syllable, or it might be deferred to the sixth. This rule is somewhat similar to that which governed the hexameter, iambic trimeter, and other measures of the ancients; and its use is evident in the medieval Latin poetry. This *caesura* may often divide a word in the middle, ‘but in such cases the strong accent is on the first syllable, and the mute which follows, being scarcely sounded, re-attaches itself to the first hemistich².’ If the *caesura* is placed regularly, or in several consecutive lines, after the fourth, that syllable must be very strongly accentuated, in order that the monotony itself may be emphasized. The effect is still better if in such cases the eighth and even the tenth have strong accents.

The recognised rule about the use of various feet was that a trochee (— ∪) might be generally substituted for the iambus, unless this produced a verse with unaccented syllables in either the fourth, eighth, and ninth, or in the sixth and tenth places. This licence allowed the fabrication of most inharmonious lines, and such writers as Dante seldom make full use of it.

The *Terza Rima* was probably invented by Dante himself.

¹ Chaucer adopted the hendecasyllabic. See ‘Prologue,’ ed. Morris, Clar. Press, p. xlii. Shakespeare is very fond of it; and Milton seems to have preferred its frequent use in his later poems, as the Samson Agonistes. Schiller too uses it very constantly; for instance in his William Tell.

² Sismondi. The same may be said of the Alexandrine of the Trouvères.

It consists of alternately rhyming lines, so arranged in triplets that the last two enclose the first of a new triplet. The line is hendecasyllabic, consisting of five iambic feet and an unaccented vowel¹.

‘E cāddī cōmē cōrpō mōrtō cāddē.’

This regular line is called ‘verso piano.’ It is sometimes varied by changing the iambus into a spondee or trochee.

‘Farò come colui che piange e dice.
Del bel paese là dove il sì suona.’

Elision is freely used, but not, as a rule, with accented syllables.

‘L’umana spezie, il luogo, il tempo, e’l seme.
Là ove terminava quella valle.’

[Crasis and slur are frequent ; as—

‘Bestemmiavano Iddio e i lor parenti.’

The regular weak rhyme is sometimes, but rarely, exchanged for a strong single rhyme; and then the line is decasyllabic, and is called a *Tronco* (mutilated).

‘Abraàm patriarca e David re.
Non avria pur’ dall orlo fatto cricch.’

Sometimes a triple rhyme is used; and the line is called a ‘Sdrucchiolo’ (sliding):—

‘Ora cen porta l’un de’ duri margini.
Ma tu non fosti sì ver testimonio.’

There are also many rhymes which are not pure double rhymes, although they may be read so by crasis. These are such as ‘bruggia,’ ‘indugio,’ and the like, and still more distinctly ‘ciglia,’ ‘grazia,’ ‘sazii,’ ‘plaustro.’

Dante not unfrequently uses such rhymes as ‘porti . . . porti’ (iii. 91), ‘regge . . regge’ (x. 80), ‘legge . . legge’ (xix. 83), ‘ombra . . . ombra’ (xxxii. 59); but in such cases the words, though identical in form, are distinct in meaning. A

¹ The Latin verses that occur in the poem show how accent is substituted for quantity; as ‘Vexilla regis prodeunt Inferni.’

specimen of what might be considered negligence is found in xix. 19-28, where ten consecutive lines end in *o*. But the mute is of scarcely sufficient importance to produce monotony. Certain combinations of rhymes are constantly repeated. Thus 'volse,' 'colse,' 'tolse,' and 'poscia,' 'coscia,' 'agnoscia,' are invariably used together.

The common accent of a word is sometimes changed (as by Shakespeare). Thus 'piéta' is used for 'pietà,' although perhaps with a slight difference of meaning. 'Dissípa' (xxx. 34), 'Icáro' (xvii. 109), 'penétra,' 'Arábi,' are other instances.

The alterations in the spelling of words are fully discussed in the Notes wherever examples occur. It will be sufficient to state here that the vowel terminations are freely varied, and that *e* and *o* are often added as mutes after accented vowels.

Thus we find 'diche' for 'dica' (xxv. 6), 'sie' for 'sii' or 'sia' (viii. 39), 'entre' for 'entri' (xiii. 16), 'uscíe' and 'uscío' for 'uscì' (x. 28, xxvii. 78), 'guie' for 'giù' (xxxii. 54)¹, 'potéo' for 'potè,' 'sen gío' for 'sen gi,' 'sentío' for 'sentì' (xxx. 133), and many others². 'Nui' is used for 'noi,' 'vui' for 'voi,' 'fusse' for 'fosse,' 'lome' for 'lume' (x. 69); 'lo' and 'gli' are used before any words; on the other hand, we find 'de' Dei' (Purg. xxi. 126), against the usual rule.

It remains to remark how by these different methods Dante introduces the greatest possible variety, beauty, and expression, into what has been called his 'prolonged song.' What single verse is there in any language that surpasses in verbal grandeur such a line as the following?

'Dinanzi polveroso va superbo.'

Nothing can excel in softness

'Mosse da prima quelle cose belle,'

or in vigour,

'Lo Duca mio, dicendo Guarda, guarda,'

¹ Such forms are common in other writers: in Cino we find 'foe,' 'morroe,' 'voe'; 'pui' for 'poi,' etc.

² As for example, xiii. 25, 33; xvii. 92: cp. xxxiii. 122.

or in expressiveness,

‘Ella sen va natando lenta lenta,’

or—a still better instance—

‘Mo su mo giù e mo ricirculando’:

a line scarcely equalled by Milton’s

‘And swims or sinks or wades or creeps or flies.’

THE POEM: ITS SOURCES AND MEANING.

WE may speak of the sources of the *Divine Comedy* in the same way as we speak of the sources of Shakespeare's plays. The fact that Dante accepted a popular form of representation, or even borrowed a scheme from another writer, no more detracts from his originality than the originality of Shakespeare is questioned when he breathes life into the old tale of 'Hamblet,' or the mouldering records of *Holinshed*.

The age of Dante was notable for the revival of religious enthusiasm, which had been aroused in the preceding century chiefly by the efforts of St. Francis and St. Domenic. The doctrine of a future life had taken a vivid and pictorial form before the imagination of men. The states of Paradise, Purgatory, and Hell were described and accepted as material realities; and, as was natural in the yet half-awakened study of the classics, the dreams of pagan mythology contributed their horrors and their joys to this conception of medieval Christianity. But those who were above the vulgar beliefs of the day saw an allegory in all these things, and believed them merely as representations of ideal truths, in exactly the same manner as they believed the facts of Scripture¹.

This characteristic of the age is largely illustrated by the paintings of those times. The works of Giotto, Orcagna, and others², love to veil truth in scenes of heaven and hell such as

¹ See especially Ozanam, '*Dante, et la phil. cath.*' iv. p. 430.

² Such for instance as the painters of the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa. It is now believed that Orcagna was not one of these. See p. xlv. It may be noticed also how much the plastic art of the day was indebted to Dante for illustration and inspiration. See Symond's *Introd. to Dante*, vii. 2.

Dante describes; and although many of these owe their actual form to the Divine Comedy, which is itself the most perfect embodiment of the spirit of that age, yet they none the less prove, as Dante's poem proves, the love of that age for intense vividness (it can hardly be called realism) in the outward representation of truths, and at the same time the necessarily ideal nature of a belief which allowed its verities to be represented by such strange and incredible scenes. This dualism is much easier to perceive in paintings than in the poem, which, with consummate art, hides its allegory under an appearance of *reality*, such as a fresco of Paradise or of the Last Judgment can never create.

A still more life-like illustration is given by the religious Spectacles, or Miracle Plays, that were popular in those times. In 1304, for instance, there was a great Spectacle at Florence. Hell and its torments were exhibited in the bed of the Arno; and so great was the thronging of the crowds, that the wooden bridge of Carraia broke beneath their weight, and many lives were lost.

But there are also more definite sources to which the poem may be traced. The general idea of the Descent is founded on the Descent of Aeneas, described by Virgil in the sixth Aeneid¹: and the resemblance extends even to the language in some passages. The theory of the spheres of Heaven is derived from the ancients, and is fully described by Cicero in 'The Dream of Scipio.' About 1130 Friar Alberigo² composed his 'Vision.' It is written in low Latin, and treats of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. Another Vision, that of Baronte or Barante, a penitent noble who had taken the cowl, is said to have been written as early as 685. He relates how, under the guidance of Raphael, he ascended to Heaven, and thence went down to Hell, where he found many monks and bishops of his acquaintance. These Visions it is quite possible Dante had read.

The Latin authors whom Dante chiefly studied were Cicero, through whom he gained much of his Platonic philo-

¹ Which is itself founded on Homer's Descent of Odysseus (Od. xi).

² Not, of course, the Alberigo of Inf. xxxiii. 118.

sophy¹, and the poets Virgil and Lucan. He was also familiar with some of the Fathers, as for instance St. Augustine; and with Boëthius, whose treatise '*De Consolatione Philosophiae*' became his favourite study after the death of Beatrice². He also probably owed much to the '*Tesoretto*' of his master Brunetto Latini.

Returning to the general form of representation, we find that Dante's poem is most distinctly an allegorical work; but its literal meaning, as is the case with all the greatest allegorical works, is no less true than its moral meaning. Reality is stamped on every line. So distinct are his words, so earnest is his tone, that we, like the awestruck people of Verona, cannot but exclaim, 'Behold the man who has been in Hell.' And doubtless he himself believed in the literal truth of the scenes that he described: he knew that he had indeed seen things which were terrible for human tongue to tell³. This belief in the literal meaning of his poem is exemplified by his own words in his letter to Can Grande. After explaining that the 'sense of the work is not simple, but it may be called polysensuous, that is, of many senses,' and after showing that there is first a literal sense, and secondly an allegorical sense (which he further subdivides into anagogic and moral), he says, 'The subject of the whole work, taken merely literally, is the state of souls after death regarded as a simple fact . . . taken allegorically the subject is Man,—how by his merits or demerits in exercising free will, he is exposed to the rewards or penalties of Justice.'

¹ The Platonism of Dante is an indubitable fact, although he makes no profession of it; and perhaps was unconscious of it. While really a disciple of Plato he gives the preference to Aristotle (*canto iv*)—an order which Petrarch reverses (*Trionfo della Fama, iii*). The Phaedrus and Timæus of Plato were evidently known to Dante by means of translations, especially the famous passage in the former concerning first principles, which Cicero translates in the *Dream of Scipio*, and which is almost paraphrased by Dante in his letter to Can Grande. In his ethical classifications however he follows Aristotle.

² See on v. 121. In the *Convito*, ii, he calls Boëthius and Cicero 'his guides to the most gentle lady Philosophy.'

³ See on *Inf. i. 7*.

It is from these manifold meanings, as much as from any other thing, that the Divine Poem shows itself to be a wondrous creation, in the highest sense of the word—comparable to Nature herself, who under various aspects presents to different minds the same eternal truths. And, at the same time, it is to be expected that certain minds should feel satisfied that their own paltry view is the only possible view. Thus, some claim the poem for merely an ethical treatise; others maintain that it is nothing but the dogmas of medieval Christianity ‘set to music’; others that it is a political and heretical squib directed against the Pope and the Guelph party: and lastly, according to Boccaccio and others of the earlier commentators, it is the ‘poor splenetic impotent terrestrial libel¹’ of a disappointed exile against his personal enemies. No; these are but narrow and distorted views of the great truth that the sacred song embodies. ‘The soul of Dante, and in this the soul of the middle ages, is for ever rendered rhythmically there.’

Therefore, in order to rightly understand the poem, we must ever keep in mind that its meaning as a whole, and the meaning of every part, is double, or rather manifold, in its aspects, just as in nature truth finds a manifold representation. And, considered amid these forms, the one great object of the poem will be seen to be the exaltation of Good and the condemnation of Evil².

The knowledge of God is this greatest Good³, and that knowledge is symbolised by her who is also called Theology or Wisdom, but who is no less the Lady Beatrice, once seen on earth, but now glorified in heaven. And that his love for Beatrice was the one great motive of Dante is evident not only from his Divine Comedy, but from his youth-

¹ See Carlyle’s ‘Hero as a Poet,’ where he combats this ‘paltry notion.’

² See Inf. i. 8, and Ozanam’s chapters entitled ‘Le Mal,’ and ‘Le Bien.’ Fauriel think that the poem is ‘un noble aveu de ses torts envers la mémoire de Béatrice.’ (Motif et But de la Divine Comédie.)

³ ‘Il bene dell’ intelletto’ (Inf. iii. 18.)

ful work, the *Vita Nuova*, in which he consecrates all his powers to her service, with these memorable words:—

‘Appresso a questo sonetto apparve a me una mirabil visione, nella quale vidi cose, che mi fecero proporre di non dir più di questa benedetta, infino a tanto che io non potessi più degnamente trattare di lei. E di venire a ciò io studio quanto posso, sì com’ ella sa veracemente. Sicchè, se piacere sarà di Colui, per cui tutte le cose vivono, che la mia vita per aliquanti anni perseveri, spero di dire di lei quello che mai non fu detto di alcuna.’

DATES OF THE CANTICHE.

The Vita Nuova was written about 1292. From its last chapter we learn that Dante had already conceived the idea of composing a great work; but he expressly states that the attempt would not be made for some years, until he could treat of his Lady more worthily.

The following are a few of the external and internal evidences which assign the composition of the three cantiche to certain periods. It must however be borne in mind that the poem may not have been written quite continuously, but that additions or alterations may have been made in the *Inferno*, for instance, after the *Purgatory* had been begun, or even finished.

Inferno, 1301-1309. The allegory of the first canto and various prophecies, such as Ciacco's in canto vi., prove that these passages were written not only after Dante's priorate, but after the sentence of exile. It is, however, not utterly impossible that certain parts of the *Inferno* might have been written before others. Yet it is evident from i. 114 foll. and from v. 107, where Caina is mentioned, that Dante had already conceived in detail the plan of the poem. With regard to the *Veltro* (i. 101) there is no difficulty, if it be explained as Uguccione, or Can Grande, in assigning the end of the first canto to about 1302.

Cino da Pistoia uses the expression 'A nullo amato amar perdona Amor' (an evident imitation of *Inf.* v. 103), and alludes to the episode of Francesca, in a piece written while his mistress Selvaggia was still alive. Now Selvaggia died in

1313, or probably still earlier¹. This proves that the fifth canto of the *Inferno*, if not the whole cantica, was made public before 1313.

The letter of Frate Ilario², if genuine, proves incontestably that the *Inferno* was published as a whole not later than 1309. His words lead us to suppose that a part at least of it was already known to fame.

The natural conclusion is that, though some passages may have been added afterwards, the *Inferno* was composed in the period between 1301 and 1309, and that it was given forth as a whole in 1309.

On the other hand, Boccaccio (see also Sacchetti, Nov. 114, 115) gives a specious story to the effect that Dante had written the first seven cantos (see note on viii. 1) before his exile; and had abandoned the task in despair. These seven cantos were, it is said, discovered, and sent to Morroello Malaspina, with whom Dante was staying in 1306. Secondly, the landslip described in canto xii. is said by some to be the 'rovina della Chiusa,' near Rivoli, which was not in existence before 1310. Thirdly, the prophecy about the pontificate of Clement V is cited as a proof that canto xix. must have been written after 1314. But the passage may have been a subsequent addition, or Dante may easily have risked the statement that Clement's pontificate would not equal in length the extraordinarily long pontificate of Boniface (see on xix. 79). Fourthly, those who explain the Veltro as Henry VII, necessarily assign canto i to 1310 or later. Sismondi says that it could not be applied even to Ugucione until 1318, when he was made chief of the Ghibelin league. It may be added that Taeffe and Troya maintain that the *Inferno*, or a part of it, was popular at Florence before 1300; while Foscolo's idea is that it was a posthumous work.

Purgatory, 1310-1316. The manner in which Dante addresses Italy, and the Emperor, in cantos vi. and vii. of the *Purgatory* seems to point to the year 1310 or 1311, in which the enthusiasm of imperialists had been aroused by Henry of Luxemburg. But the expression '*sì che tardi per altri si recrea*' (vii. 96) seems a confession of the impatience that

¹ See Carducci's preface to Cino's works, where it is stated that Cino visited her tomb on his way to Rome, whither he was going to attend the coronation of Henry in 1312. Ciampi states that she was alive in 1313. See however Cino's Sonnet cv.

² See p. xl.

Dante began to feel in 1312. In *Purg.* xxiv. 37, Gentucca is mentioned, so that this part must have been written in or after 1314. If, as is likely, the Dux (*Purg.* xxxiii. 43) is Uguccone, it is evident that the end of the Purgatory was composed in 1315-16, after the battle of Monte Catini, and before the defection of Pisa and Lucca. Boccaccio also states that the Purgatory was dedicated to Moroello Malaspina, who died in 1316.

But it is impossible to trust Boccaccio's statements, and in *Purg.* xix. 142, Alagia, the wife of Moroello is mentioned in a way that (it is said) makes one think that her husband was already dead. This has been thought by some to prove that the Purgatory was not finished till after 1316, and that if the cantica was dedicated to Moroello, it was dedicated while unfinished.

Paradise, 1317-1320. The mention of Can Grande's hospitality in canto xvii. proves that this part of the cantica was written in or after 1317. That the whole of the Paradise was published before Dante's death is evident from the allusion that Cecco d'Ascoli makes to it in his *Acerba*, which was written during Dante's life.

‘Del qual (ciel) ne trattò quel Fiorentino,
Che lì lui sì condusse Beatrice.’

Cino also, in a canzone (cxii.) on the death of Dante, seems to allude to *Par.* xv. 72 in

‘Poi che son rotte l'ale d'ogni ingegno.’

The description of the monastery of Santa Croce on Mount Catria (*Purg.* xxi. 106) has made some unreasonably fancy that the passage was written on the spot, in 1313,

DELL' INFERNO

DELL' INFERNO

CANTO PRIMO.

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
Che la diritta via era smarrita.
Ahi quanto, a dir qual era, è cosa dura,
Questa selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte, 5
Che nel pensier rinnova la paura!
Tanto è amara, che poco è più morte:
Ma per trattar del ben ch' i' vi trovai,
Dirò dell' altre cose ch' io v' ho scorte.
I' non so ben ridir com' io v' entrai; 10
Tant' era pien di sonno in su quel punto,
Che la verace via abbandonai.
Ma poi ch' io fui appiè d' un colle giunto,
Là ove terminava quella valle
Che m' avea di paura il cuor compunto, 15
Guardai in alto, e vidi le sue spalle
Vestite già de' raggi del pianeta,
Che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle.
Allor fu la paura un poco queta,
Che nel lago del cuor m' era durata 20
La notte, ch' io passai con tanta pièta.
E come quei, che con lena affannata
Uscito fuor del pelago alla riva,
Si volge all' acqua perigliosa, e guata;
Così l' animo mio, ch' ancor fuggiva, 25

Si volse indietro a rimirar lo passo,
 Che non lasciò giammai persona viva.
 Poi, riposato un poco il corpo lasso,
 Ripresi via per la piaggia diserta,
 Sì che 'l piè fermo sempre era 'l più basso. 30
 Ed ecco, quasi al cominciar dell' erta,
 Una lonza leggiera e presta molto,
 Che di pel maculato era coperta.
 E non mi si partia dinanzi al volto;
 Anzi impediva tanto 'l mio cammino, 35
 Ch' io fui per ritornar più volte vòlto.
 Temp' era dal principio del mattino,
 E 'l Sol montava 'n su con quelle stelle
 Ch' eran con lui, quando l' Amor divino
 Mosse da prima quelle cose belle; 40
 Sì ch' a bene sperar m' era cagione
 Di quella fera alla gaietta pelle,
 L' ora del tempo, e la dolce stagione:
 Ma non sì, che paura non mi desse
 La vista, che m' apparve, d' un leone. 45
 Questi pareo che contra me venesse
 Con la test' alta, e con rabbiosa fame,
 Sì che pareo che l' aer ne temesse:
 Ed una lupa, che di tutte brame
 Sembiava carca nella sua magrezza, 50
 E molte genti fe già viver grame.
 Questa mi porse tanto di gravezza
 Con la paura ch' uscia di sua vista,
 Ch' io perdei la speranza dell' altezza.
 E quale è quei, che volentieri acquista, 55
 E giugne 'l tempo che perder lo face,
 Che 'n tutti i suoi pensier piange e s' attrista;
 Tal mi fece la bestia senza pace,
 Che venendomi incontro, a poco a poco
 Mi ripingeva là dove 'l Sol tace. 60
 Mentre ch' io ruinava in basso loco,
 Dinanzi agli occhi mi si fu offerto
 Chi per lungo silenzio pareo fioco.

Quand' i' vidi costui nel gran deserto,
 Miserere di me, gridai a lui, 65
 Qual che tu sii, od ombra, od uomo certo.
 Risposemi: Non uomo; uomo già fui,
 E li parenti miei furon lombardi,
 E mantovani per patria ambedui.
 Nacqui *sub Julio*, ancorchè fosse tardi, 70
 E vissi a Roma sotto 'l buono Augusto
 Al tempo degli Dei falsi e bugiardi.
 Poeta fui, e cantai di quel giusto
 Figliuol d' Anchise, che venne da Troia,
 Poi che il superbo Ilion fu combusto. 75
 Ma tu perchè ritorni a tanta noia?
 Perchè non sali il dilettoso monte,
 Ch' è principio e cagion di tutta gioia?
 Or se' tu quel Virgilio, e quella fonte,
 Che spande di parlar sì largo fiume? 80
 Risposi lui con vergognosa fronte.
 O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
 Vagliami 'l lungo studio, e 'l grande amore,
 Che m' han fatto cercar lo tuo volume.
 Tu se' lo mio maestro e lo mio autore: 85
 Tu se' solo colui, da cu' io tolsi
 Lo bello stile, che m' ha fatto onore.
 Vedi la bestia, per cu' io mi volsi:
 Aiutami da lei, famoso saggio,
 Ch' ella mi fa tremar le vene e i polsi. 90
 A te convien tenere altro viaggio,
 Rispose, poi che lacrimar mi vide,
 Se vuoi campar d' esto luogo selvaggio;
 Chè questa bestia, per la qual tu gride,
 Non lascia altrui passar per la sua via, 95
 Ma tanto lo impedisce, che l' uccide:
 Ed ha natura sì malvagia e ria,
 Che mai non empie la bramosa voglia,
 E dopo 'l pasto ha più fame che pria.
 Molti son gli animali a cui s' ammoglia, 100
 E più saranno ancora, infin che 'l Veltro

Verrà, che la farà morir di doglia.
Questi non ciberà terra nè peltro,
Ma sapienza ed amore e virtute,
E sua nazione sarà tra Feltro e Feltro. 105
Di quell' umile Italia fia salute,
Per cui morio la vergine Cammilla,
Eurialo e Niso e Turno di ferute:
Questi la cacerà per ogni villa,
Fin che l' avrà rimessa nell' Inferno, 110
Là onde invidia prima dipartilla.
Ond' io per lo tuo me' penso e discerno,
Che tu mi segui; ed io sarò tua guida,
E trarrotti di qui per luogo eterno,
Ov' udirai le disperate strida, 115
Vedrai gli antichi spiriti dolenti,
Che la seconda morte ciascun grida.
E vederai color che son contenti
Nel fuoco, perchè speran di venire,
Quando che sia, alle beate genti: 120
Alle qua' poi se tu vorrai salire,
Anima fia a ciò di me più degna:
Con lei ti lascerò nel mio partire;
Chè quell' Imperador, che lassù regna,
Perch' io fui ribellante alla sua legge, 125
Non vuol che 'n sua città per me si vegna.
In tutte parti impera, e quivi regge:
Quivi è la sua cittade, e l' alto seggio:
O felice colui, cu' ivi elegge!
Ed io a lui: Poeta, i' ti richieggo 130
Per quello Iddio che tu non conoscesti,
Acciocch' io fugga questo male, e peggio,
Che tu mi meni là dov' or dicesti,
Sì ch' io vegga la porta di san Pietro,
E color che tu fai cotanto mesti. 135
Allor si mosse: ed io gli tenni dietro.

CANTO TERZO.

PER ME SI VA NELLA CITTÀ DOLENTE;
PER ME SI VA NELL'ETERNO DOLORE;
PER ME SI VA TRA LA PERDUTA GENTE.
GIUSTIZIA MOSSE 'L MIO ALTO FATTORE:
FECEMI LA DIVINA POTESTATE, 5
LA SOMMA SAPIENZA, E 'L PRIMO AMORE.
DINANZI A ME NON FUR COSE CREATE,
SE NON ETERNE, ED IO ETERNO DURO:
LASCIATE OGNI SPERANZA, VOI CH'ENTRATE.
Queste parole di colore oscuro 10
Vid'io scritte al sommo d'una porta;
Perch'io: Maestro, il senso lor m'è duro.
Ed egli a me, come persona accorta:
Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto;
Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta. 15
Noi sem venuti al luogo ov'io t'ho detto
Che vederai le genti dolorose,
C'hanno perduto 'l ben dell'intelletto.
E poi che la sua mano alla mia pose
Con lieto volto, ond'io mi confortai, 20
Mi mise dentro alle segrete cose.
Quivi sospiri, pianti, ed alti guai
Risonovan per l'aer senza stelle,
Per ch'io al cominciar ne lacrimai.
Diverse lingue, orribili favelle, 25
Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira,
Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle,
Facevano un tumulto, il qual s'aggira
Sempre in quell'aria senza tempo tinta,
Come la rena quando 'l turbo spira. 30
Ed io, ch'avea d'error la testa cinta,
Dissi: Maestro, che è quel ch'i'odo?
E che gent'è, che par nel duol sì vinta?
Ed egli a me: Questo misero modo
Tengon l'anime triste di coloro, 35

Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.
 Mischiate sono a quel cattivo coro
 Degli angeli, che non furon ribelli,
 Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per sè foro.
 Cacciârli i Ciel per non esser men belli; 40
 Nè lo profondo inferno gli riceve,
 Ch' alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d'elli.
 Ed io: Maestro, che è tanto greve
 A lor, che lamentar gli fa sì forte?
 Rispose: Dicerolti molto breve. 45
 Questi non hanno speranza di morte;
 E la lor cieca vita è tanto bassa,
 Che invidïosi son d'ogni altra sorte.
 Fama di loro il mondo esser non lassa:
 Misericordia e Giustizia gli sdegna; 50
 Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa.
 Ed io, che riguardai, vidi una insegna,
 Che, girando, correva tanto ratta,
 Che d'ogni posa mi pareva indegna:
 E dietro le venía sì lunga tratta 55
 Di gente, ch'io non avrei mai creduto,
 Che morte tanta n'avesse disfatta.
 Poscia ch'io v'ebbi alcun riconosciuto,
 Guardai, e vidi l'ombra di colui
 Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto. 60
 Incontanente intesi, e certo fui,
 Che quest'era la setta de' cattivi,
 A Dio spiacenti ed a' nemici sui.
 Questi sciaurati, che mai non fur vivi,
 Erano ignudi, e stimolati molto 65
 Da mosconi e da vespe, ch'eran ivi.
 Elle rigavan lor di sangue il volto,
 Che, mischiato di lagrime, a' lor piedi
 Da fastidiosi vermi era ricolto.
 E poi ch'a riguardare oltre mi diedi, 70
 Vidi gente alla riva d'un gran fiume;
 Per ch'io dissi: Maestro, or mi concedi
 Ch'io sappia quali sono, e qual costume

Le fa parer di trapassar sì pronte,
 Com' io discerno per lo fioco lume. 75
 Ed egli a me: Le cose ti fien conte
 Quando noi fermerem li nostri passi
 Su la trista riviera d' Acheronte.
 Allor con gli occhi vergognosi e bassi,
 Temendo che 'l mio dir gli fusse grave, 80
 In fino al fiume di parlar mi trassi.
 Ed ecco verso noi venir per nave
 Un vecchio, bianco per antico pelo,
 Gridando: Guai a voi, anime prave:
 Non isperate mai veder lo cielo: 85
 I' vegno per menarvi all' altra riva
 Nelle tenebre eterne, in caldo e in gielo.
 E tu, che se' costì, anima viva,
 Pártiti da cotesti che son morti.
 Ma poi ch' e' vide ch' io non mi partiva, 90
 Disse: Per altre vie, per altri porti
 Verrai a piaggia, non qui, per passare:
 Più lieve legno convien che ti porti.
 E 'l Duca a lui: Caron, non ti crucciare;
 Vuolsi così colà dove si puote 95
 Ciò che si vuole, e più non dimandare.
 Quindi fur quete le lanose gote
 Al nocchier della livida palude,
 Che intorno agli occhi avea di fiamme ruote.
 Ma quell' anime, ch' eran lasse e nude, 100
 Cangiar colore, e dibattero i denti,
 Tosto che inteser le parole crude.
 Bestemmiavano Iddio, e i lor parenti,
 L' umana spezie, il luogo, il tempo, e 'l seme
 Di lor semenza e di lor nascimenti. 105
 Poi si ritrasser tutte quante insieme,
 Forte piangendo, alla riva malvagia,
 Ch' attende ciascun uom che Dio non teme.
 Caron dimonio con occhi di bragia,
 Loro accennando, tutte le raccoglie: 110
 Batte col remo qualunque s' adagia.

Come d'autunno si levan le foglie
 L'una appresso dell'altra, infin che 'l ramo
 Rende alla terra tutte le sue spoglie;
 Similmente il mal seme d'Adamo: 115
 Gittansi di quel lito ad una ad una,
 Per cenni, com'augel per suo richiamo.
 Così sen vanno su per l'onda bruna,
 Ed avanti che sien di là discese,
 Anche di qua nuova schiera s'aduna. 120
 Figliuol mio, disse il Maestro cortese,
 Quelli che muoion nell'ira di Dio,
 Tutti convengnon qui d'ogni paese:
 E pronti sono al trapassar del rio,
 Chè la divina giustizia gli sprona 125
 Sì, che la tema si volge in disio.
 Quindi non passa mai anima buona;
 E però se Caron di te si lagna,
 Ben puoi saper omai che 'l suo dir suona.
 Finito questo, la buia campagna 130
 Tremò si forte, che dello spavento
 La mente di sudore ancor mi bagna.
 La terra lagrimosa diede vento,
 Che balenò una luce vermiglia,
 La qual mi vinse ciascun sentimento; 135
 E caddi, come l'uom cui sonno piglia.

CANTO QUINTO.

Così discesi dal cerchio primaio
 Giù nel secondo, che men loco cinghia,
 E tanto più dolor, che pugne a guaio.
 Stavvi Minòs orribilmente, e ringhia:
 Esamina le colpe nell'entrata; 5
 Giudica e manda, secondo ch'avvinghia.
 Dico, che quando l'anima mal nata

Gli vien dinanzi, tutta si confessa;
E quel conoscitor delle peccata
Vede qual luogo d' Inferno è da essa: 10
Cignesi con la coda tante volte,
Quantunque gradi vuol che giù sia messa.
Sempre dinanzi a lui ne stanno molte:
Vanno a vicenda ciascuna al giudizio:
Dicono ed odono, e poi son giù vòlte. 15
O tu, che vieni al doloroso ospizio,
Gridò Minòs a me, quando mi vide,
Lasciando l'atto di cotanto ufizio,
Guarda com' entri, e di cui tu ti fide:
Non t' inganni l' ampiezza dell' entrare. 20
E 'l duca mio a lui: Perchè pur gride?
Non impedir lo suo fatale andare:
Vuolsi così colà dove si puote
Ciò che si vuole, e più non dimandare.
Ora incomincian le dolenti note 25
A farmisi sentire: or son venuto
Là dove molto pianto mi percuote.
Io venni in luogo d' ogni luce muto,
Che mugghia come fa mar per tempesta,
Se da contrari venti è combattuto. 30
La bufera infernal, che mai non resta,
Mena gli spirti con la sua rapina;
Voltando e percotendo gli molesta.
Quando giungon davanti alla ruina,
Quivi le strida, il compianto e 'l lamento; 35
Bestemmian quivi la Virtù divina.
Intesi ch' a così fatto tormento
Eran dannati i peccator carnali,
Che la ragion sommettono al talento.
E come gli stornei ne portan l' ali, 40
Nel freddo tempo, a schiera larga a piena;
Così quel fiato gli spiriti mali
Di qua, di là, di giù, di su gli mena:
Nulla speranza gli conforta mai,
Non che di posa, ma di minor pena. 45

E come i gru van cantando lor lai,
 Facendo in aer di sè lunga riga;
 Così vid' io venir, traendo guai,
 Ombre portate dalla detta briga;
 Perch' io dissi: Maestro, chi son quelle 50
 Genti, che l'aer nero sì gastiga?
 La prima di color, di cui novelle
 Tu vuoi saper, mi disse quegli allotta,
 Fu imperadrice di molte favelle.
 A vizio di lussuria fu sì rotta, 55
 Che libito fe lecito in sua legge,
 Per tôrre il biasmo in che era condotta.
 Ell' è Semiramìs, di cui si legge,
 Che succedette a Nino, e fu sua sposa;
 Tenne la terra che 'l Soldan corregge. 60
 L'altra è colei che s'ancise amorosa,
 E ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo:
 Poi è Cleopatràs lussuriosa.
 Elena vidi, per cui tanto reo
 Tempo si volse; e vidi 'l grande Achille, 65
 Che per amore al fine combatteo.
 Vidi Paris, Tristano. E più di mille
 Ombre mostrommi, e nominolle, a dito,
 Ch' Amor di nostra vita dipartille.
 Poscia ch' io ebbi il mio Dottore udito 70
 Nomar le donne antiche e i cavalieri,
 Pietà mi vinse, e fui quasi smarrito.
 Poi cominciai: Poeta, volentieri
 Parlerei a que' duo, che insieme vanno,
 E paion sì al vento esser leggieri. 75
 Ed egli a me: Vedrai quando saranno
 Più presso a noi; e tu allor gli prega
 Per quell' amor, che i mena; ed ei verranno.
 Sì tosto come 'l vento a noi gli piega,
 Muovo la voce: O anime affannate, 80
 Venite a noi parlar, s'altri nol nega.
 Quali colombe dal disío chiamate,
 Con l'ali aperte e ferme, al dolce nido

Volan, per l' aer dal voler portate;
Cotali uscìr della schiera ov' è Dido, 85
A noi venendo per l' aer maligno;
Sì forte fu l' affettuoso grido.
O animal grazioso e benigno,
Che visitando vai per l' aer perso
Noi che tignemmo 'l mondo di sanguigno; 90
Se fosse amico il Re dell' universo,
Noi pregheremmo lui per la tua pace,
Poi c' hai pietà del nostro mal perverso.
Di quel ch' udire e che parlar vi piace
Noi udiremo e parleremo a vui, 95
Mentre che 'l vento, come fa, si tace.
Siede la terra, dove nata fui,
Su la marina dove 'l Po discende
Per aver pace co' seguaci sui.
Amor, ch' a cor gentil ratto s' apprende, 100
Prese costui della bella persona,
Che mi fu tolta, e il modo ancor m' offende.
Amor, ch' a null' amato amar perdona,
Mi prese del costui piacer sì forte,
Che, come vedi, ancor non m' abbandona. 105
Amor condusse noi ad una morte:
Caina attende chi vita ci spense.
Queste parole da lor ci fur pôrte.
Da ch' io intesi quell' anime offense,
Chinai 'l viso; e tanto 'l tenni basso, 110
Fin che 'l Poeta mi disse: Che pense?
Quando risposi, cominciai: Oh lasso!
Quanti dolci pensier, quanto disio
Menò costoro al doloroso passo!
Poi mi rivolsi a loro, e parla' io, 115
E cominciai: Francesca, i tuoi martíri
A lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio.
Ma dimmi: al tempo de' dolci sospiri,
A che, e come concedette Amore
Che conosceste i dubbiosi desiri? 120
Ed ella a me: Nessun maggior dolore,

Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
 Nella miseria; e ciò sa 'l tuo dottore.
 Ma s' a conoscer la prima radice
 Del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto, 125
 Farò come colui che piange e dice.
 Noi leggevamo un giorno, per diletto,
 Di Lancillotto, come amor lo strinse:
 Soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto.
 Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse 130
 Quella lettura, e scolorocci 'l viso:
 Ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse.
 Quando leggemmo il disiato riso
 Esser baciato da cotanto amante,
 Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso, 135
 La bocca ma baciò tutto tremante:
 Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse:
 Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante.
 Mentre che l' uno spirito questo disse,
 L' altro piangeva sì, che di pietade 140
 Io venni men, così com' io morisse;
 E caddi come corpo morto cade.

CANTO OTTAVO.

Io dico seguitando, ch' assai prima
 Che noi fussimo al piè dell' alta torre,
 Gli occhi nostri n' andâr suso alla cima,
 Per duo fiammette, che i' vedemmo porre,
 Ed un' altra da lungi render cenno 5
 Tanto, ch' appena 'l potea l' occhio tôrre.
 Ed io, rivolto al mar di tutto 'l senno,
 Dissi: Questo che dice? e che risponde
 Quell' altro fuoco? e chi son que' che 'l fenno?
 Ed egli a me: Su per le sucide onde 10
 Già puoi scorgere quello che s' aspetta,

Se 'l fummo del pantan nol ti nasconde.
 Corda non pinse mai da sè saetta,
 Che sì corresse via, per l' aer, snella,
 Com' io vidi una nave piccioletta 15
 Venir per l' acqua verso noi in quella,
 Sotto il governo d' un sol galeoto,
 Che gridava: Or se' giunta, anima fella!
 Flegiàs, Flegiàs, tu gridi a voto,
 Disse lo mio Signore, a questa volta: 20
 Più non ci avrai, se non passando il loto.
 Quale colui, che grande inganno ascolta
 Che gli sia fatto, e poi se ne rammarca;
 Tal si fe Flegiàs nell' ira accolta.
 Lo Duca mio discese nella barca, 25
 E poi mi fece entrare appresso lui,
 E sol, quand' i' fui dentro, parve carica.
 Tosto che 'l Duca ed io nel legno fui,
 Secando se ne va l' antica prora
 Dell' acqua, più che non suol con altrui. 30
 Mentre noi correvam la morta gora,
 Dinanzi mi si fece un pien di fango,
 E disse: Chi se' tu che vieni anzi ora?
 Ed io a lui: S' i' vegno, non rimango:
 Ma tu chi se', che sì se' fatto brutto? 35
 Rispose: Vedi che son un che piango.
 Ed io a lui: Con piangere e con lutto,
 Spirito maledetto, ti rimani;
 Ch' io ti conosco, ancor sie lordo tutto.
 Allora stese al legno ambe le mani; 40
 Per che 'l Maestro, accorto, lo sospinse,
 Dicendo: Via costà, con gli altri cani.
 Lo collo poi con le braccia m' avvinse;
 Baciommi 'l volto, e disse: Alma sdegnosa,
 Benedetta colei, che in te s' incinse. 45
 Quel fu al mondo persona orgogliosa;
 Bontà non è, che sua memoria fregi:
 Così s' è l' ombra sua qui furiosa.
 Quanti si tengono or lassù gran regi,

Che qui staranno come porci in brago, 50
 Di sè lasciando orribili dispregi!
 Ed io: Maestro, molto sarei vago
 Di vederlo attuffare in questa broda,
 Prima che noi uscissimo del lago.
 Ed egli a me: Avanti che la proda 55
 Ti si lasci veder, tu sarai sazio;
 Di tal disio converrà che tu goda.
 Dopo ciò poco, vidi quello strazio
 Far di costui alle fangose genti,
 Che Dio ancor ne lodo e ne ringrazio. 60
 Tutti gridavano: A Filippo Argenti;
 E 'l fiorentino spirito bizzarro
 In sè medesmo si volgea co' denti.
 Quivi 'l lasciammo, chè più non ne narro;
 Ma negli orecchi mi percosse un duolo, 65
 Per ch' io avanti intento l' occhio sbarro.
 E 'l buon Maestro disse: Omai, figliuolo,
 S' appressa la città, c' ha nome Dite,
 Co' gravi cittadin, col grande stuolo.
 Ed io: Maestro, già le sue meschite 70
 Là entro certo nella valle cerno
 Vermiglie, come se di fuoco uscite
 Fossero: ed ei mi disse: Il fuoco eterno,
 Ch' entro l' affoca, le dimostra rosse,
 Come tu vedi, in questo basso Inferno. 75
 Noi pur giungemmo dentro all' alte fosse,
 Che vallan quella terra sconsolata:
 Le mura mi pareva che ferro fosse.
 Non senza prima far grande aggirata
 Venimmo in parte, dove 'l nòcchier, forte, 80
 Uscite, ci gridò, qui è l' entrata.
 Io vidi più di mille in su le porte
 Dal ciel piovuti, che stizzosamente
 Dicean: Chi è costui, che senza morte
 Va per lo regno della morta gente? 85
 E 'l savio mio Maestro fece segno
 Di voler lor parlar segretamente.

Allor chiusero un poco il gran disdegno,
 E disser: Vien tu solo, e quel sen vada,
 Che sì ardito entrò per questo regno. 90
 Sol si ritorni per la folle strada:
 Pruovi, se sa; chè tu qui rimarrai,
 Che scorto l' hai per sì buia contrada.
 Pensa, lettor, s' io mi disconfortai
 Al suon delle parole maledette; 95
 Ch' io non credetti ritornarci mai.
 O caro Duca mio, che più di sette
 Volte m' hai sicurtà renduta, e tratto
 D' alto periglio che incontra mi stette,
 Non mi lasciar, diss' io, così disfatto: 100
 E se l' andar più oltre c' è negato,
 Ritroviam l' orme nostre insieme ratto.
 E quel Signor, che lì m' avea menato,
 Mi disse: Non temer, chè 'l nostro passo
 Non ci può tôrre alcun: da Tal n' è dato. 105
 Ma qui m' attendi, e lo spirito lasso
 Conforta e ciba di speranza buona,
 Ch' io non ti lascerò nel mondo basso.
 Così sen va, e quivi m' abbandona
 Lo dolce padre, ed io rimango in forse; 110
 Chè 'l sì e 'l no nel capo mi tenzona.
 Udir non pote' quello ch' a lor porse;
 Ma ei non stette là con essi guari,
 Che ciascun dentro a pruova si ricorse.
 Chiuser le porte que' nostri avversari 115
 Nel petto al mio Signor, che fuor rimase,
 E rivolsesi a me con passi rari.
 Gli occhi alla terra, e le ciglia avea rase
 D' ogni baldanza, e dicea ne' sospiri:
 Chi m' ha negate le dolenti case? 120
 Ed a me disse: Tu, perch' io m' adiri,
 Non sbigottir, ch' io vincerò la pruova,
 Qual, ch' alla difension dentro s' aggiri.
 Questa lor tracotanza non è nuova;
 Chè già l' usaro a men segreta porta, 125

La qual senza serrame ancor si trova.
 Sovr' essa vedestù la scritta morta:
 E già di qua da lei discende l' erta,
 Passando per li cerchi senza scorta,
 Tal, che per lui ne fia la terra aperta.

130

CANTO NONO.

Quel color che viltà di fuor mi pinse,
 Veggendo il Duca mio tornare in volta,
 Più tosto dentro il suo nuovo ristrinse.
 Attento si fermò, com'uom ch'ascolta:
 Chè l'occhio nol potea menare a lunga 5
 Per l'aer nero e per la nebbia folta.
 Pure a noi converrà vincer la punga,
 Cominciò ei, se non... tal ne s'offerse...
 Oh quanto tarda a me, ch'altri qui giunga!
 Io vidi ben, sì com'ei ricoperse 10
 Lo cominciar con l'altro che poi venne,
 Che fur parole alle prime diverse.
 Ma nondimen paura il suo dir dienne,
 Perch'io traeva la parola tronca,
 Forse a peggior sentenza ch'ei non tenne. 15
 In questo fondo della trista conca
 Discende mai alcun del primo grado,
 Che sol per pena ha la speranza cionca?
 Questa question fec'io; e quei: Di rado
 Incontra, mi rispose, che di nui 20
 Faccia alcuno 'l cammin, pel quale io vado.
 Ver è, ch'altra fiata quaggiù fui
 Congiurato da quella Eriton cruda,
 Che richiamava l'ombre a'corpi sui.
 Di poco ere di me la carne nuda, 25
 Ch'ella mi fece entrar dentr' a quel muro,
 Per trarne un spirto del cerchio di Giuda.

Quell'è il più basso luogo, ed il più oscuro,
 E'l più lontan dal ciel, che tutto gira:
 Ben so'l cammin; però ti fa'sicuro. 30
 Questa palude, che'l gran puzzo spira,
 Cinge d'intorno la città dolente,
 'U' non potemo entrare omai senz'ira.
 Ed altro disse; ma non l'ho a mente;
 Perocchè l'occhio m'avea tutto tratto 35
 Vêr l'alta torre alla cima rovente,
 Ove in un punto furon dritte ratto
 Tre furie infernal, di sangue tinte,
 Che membra femminili aveano ed atto,
 E con idre verdissime eran cinte: 40
 Serpentelli e ceraste avean per crine;
 Onde le fiere tempie erano avvinte.
 E quei, che ben conobbe le meschine
 Della regina dell'eterno pianto,
 Guarda, mi disse, le feroci Erine. 45
 Quest'è Megera, dal sinistro canto:
 Quella, che piange dal destro, è Aletto:
 Tisifone è nel mezzo; e tacque a tanto.
 Con l'unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto;
 Batteansi a palme; e gridavan sì alto, 50
 Ch'io mi strinsi al Poeta per sospetto.
 Venga Medusa, e sì'l farem di smalto,
 Gridavan tutte, riguardando in giuso:
 Mal non vengiammo in Teseo l'assalto.
 Volgiti indietro, e tien lo viso chiuso: 55
 Chè se'l Gorgon si mostra, e tu il vedessi,
 Nulla sarebbe del tornar mai suso.
 Così disse'l Maestro; ed egli stessi
 Mi volse, e non si tenne alle mie mani,
 Che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi. 60
 O voi, ch'avete gl'intelletti sani,
 Mirate la dottrina, che s'asconde
 Sotto'l velame degli versi strani.
 E già venía su per le torbid'onde
 Un fracasso d'un suon pien di spavento, 65

Per cui tremavan ambedue le sponde ;
 Non altrimenti fatto, che d' un vento
 Impetuoso per gli avversi ardori,
 Che fier la selva, e senza alcun rattento
 Gli rami schianta, abbatte, e porta fuori ; 70
 Dinanzi polveroso va superbo,
 E fa fuggir le fiere ed i pastori.
 Gli occhi mi sciolse, e disse: Or drizza 'l nerbo
 Del viso su per quella schiuma antica
 Per indi, ove quel fummo è più acerbo. 75
 Come le rane innanzi alla nimica
 Biscia per l'acqua si dileguan tutte,
 Fin ch' alla terra ciascuna s' abbica;
 Vid' io più di mille anime distrutte
 Fuggir così dinanzi ad un, ch' al passo 80
 Passava Stige con le piante asciutte.
 Dal volto removea quell' aer grasso,
 Menando la sinistra innanzi spesso;
 E sol di quella angoscia pareo lasso.
 Ben m' accorsi ch' egli era del ciel messo, 85
 E volsimi al Maestro; e quei fe segno
 Ch' io stessi cheto, ed inchinassi ad esso.
 Ah! quanto mi pareo pien di disdegno!
 Giunse alla porta, e con una verghetta
 L'aperse, chè non v' ebbe alcun ritegno! 90
 O cacciati del ciel, gente dispetta,
 Cominciò egli in su l' orribil soglia,
 Ond' esta oltracotanza in voi s' alletta?
 Perchè ricalcitate a quella voglia,
 A cui non puote 'l fin mai esser mozzo, 95
 E che più volte v' ha cresciuta doglia?
 Che giova nelle fata dar di cozzo?
 Cerbero vostro, se ben vi ricorda,
 Ne porta ancor pelato 'l mento e 'l gozzo.
 Poi si rivolse per la strada lorda, 100
 E non fe motto a noi; ma fe sembiante
 D' uomo, cui altra cura stringa e morda,
 Che quella di colui che gli è davante:

E noi movemmo i piedi invêr la terra
Sicuri, appresso le parole sante. 105
Dentro v'entrammo senza alcuna guerra:
Ed io, ch'avea di riguardar disio
La condizion, che tal fortezza serra,
Com'io fui dentro, l'occhio intorno invio,
E veggio ad ogni man grande campagna, 110
Piena di duolo e di tormento rio.
Sì com'ad Arli ove'l Rodano stagna,
Sì com'a Pola presso del Quarnaro,
Ch'Italia chiude e i suoi termini bagna,
Fanno i sepolcri tutto'l loco varo; 115
Così facevan quivi d'ogni parte,
Salvo che'l modo v'era più amaro:
Chè tra gli avelli fiamme erano sparte,
Per le quali eran sì del tutto accesi,
Che ferro più non chiede verun' arte. 120
Tutti gli lor coperchi eran sospesi,
E fuor n'uscivan sì duri lamenti,
Che ben parean di miseri e d'offesi.
Ed io: Maestro, quai son quelle genti,
Che seppellite dentro da quell' arche 125
Si fan sentir con gli sospir dolenti?
Ed egli a me: Qui son gli eresiarche
Co' lor seguaci d'ogni setta, e molto
Più che non credi, son le tombe carche.
Simile qui con simile è sepolto; 130
E i monumenti son più e men caldi.
E poi ch'alla man destra si fu vòlto,
Passammo tra i martíri e gli alti spaldi.

CANTO DECIMO.

Ora sen va per uno stretto calle,
Tra'l muro della terra ed i martíri,
Lo mio Maestro, ed io dopo le spalle.

O virtù somma che per gli empì giri
 Mi volvi, cominciai, com' a te piace, 5
 Parlami, e satisfammi a' miei desiri.
 La gente, che per gli sepolcri giace,
 Potrebbe vedèr? già son levati
 Tutti i coperchi; e nessun guardia face.
 Ed egli a me: Tutti saran serrati, 10
 Quando di Giosaffat qui torneranno
 Coi corpi, che lassuso hanno lasciati.
 Suo cimitero da questa parte hanno
 Con Epicuro tutti i suoi seguaci,
 Che l' anima col corpo morta fanno. 15
 Però alla dimanda, che mi faci,
 Quinc' entro soddisfatto sarai tosto,
 Ed al disio ancor, che tu mi taci.
 Ed io: Buon Duca, non tengo nascosto
 A te mio cor, se non per dicer poco; 20
 E tu m' hai non pur ora a ciò disposto.
 O Tosco, che per la città del foco
 Vivo ten vai così parlando onesto,
 Piacciati di restare in questo loco.
 La tua loquela ti fa manifesto 25
 Di quella nobil patria natio,
 Alla qual forse fui troppo molesto.
 Subitamente questo suono uscío
 D' una dell' arche: però m' accostai,
 Temendo, un poco più al Duca mio. 30
 Ed ei mi disse: Volgiti; che fai?
 Vedi là Farinata che s' è dritto:
 Dalla cintola in su tutto 'l vedrai.
 I' avea già 'l mio viso nel suo fitto:
 Ed ei s' ergea col petto e colla fronte, 35
 Come avesse l' Inferno in gran dispetto:
 E l' animose man del Duca e pronte,
 Mi pinser tra le sepolture a lui,
 Dicendo: Le parole tue sien conte.
 Tosto ch' al piè della sua tomba fui, 40
 Guardommi un poco, e poi quasi sdegnoso

Mi dimandò: Chi fur gli maggior tui?
Io, ch'era d'ubbidir desideroso,
Non gliel celai, ma tutto gliel'apersi;
Ond' ei levò le ciglia un poco in soso; 45
Poi disse: Fieramente furo avversi
A me, ed a' miei primi, ed a mia parte;
Si che per duo fiate gli dispersi.
S'ei fur cacciati, ei tornâr d'ogni parte,
Risposi lui, l'una e l'altra fiata; 50
Ma i vostri non appreser ben quell'arte.
Allor surse alla vista, scoperchiata
Un'ombra lungo questa infino al mento:
Credo che s'era inginocchion levata.
D'intorno mi guardò, come talento 55
Avesse di veder s'altri era meco;
Ma poi che 'l sospicar fu tutto spento,
Piangendo disse: Se per questo cieco
Carcere vai per altezza d'ingegno,
Mio figlio ov'è? e perchè non è teco? 60
Ed io a lui: Da me stesso non vegno:
Colui ch'attende là per qui mi mena,
Forse cui Guido vostro ebbe a disdegno.
Le sue parole e 'l modo della pena
M'avevan di costui già detto il nome; 65
Però fu la risposta così piena.
Di subito drizzato gridò: Come
Dicesti, Egli ebbe? non viv'egli ancora?
Non fiere gli occhi suoi lo dolce lome?
Quando s'accorse d'alcuna dimora 70
Ch'io faceva dinanzi alla risposta,
Supin ricadde, e più non parve fuora.
Ma quell'altro magnanimo, a cui posta
Restato m'era, non mutò aspetto,
Nè mosse collo, nè piegò sua costa: 75
E se, continuando al primo detto,
Egli han quell'arte, disse, male appresa,
Ciò mi tormenta più che questo letto.
Ma non cinquanta volte fia raccesa

La faccia della donna che qui regge, 80
 Che tu saprai quanto quell' arte pesa.
 E, se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge,
 Dimmi, perchè quel popolo è sì empio
 Incontr' a' miei in ciascuna sua legge?
 Ond' io a lui: Lo strazio e 'l grande scempio, 85
 Che fece l' Arbia colorata in rosso,
 Tale orazion fa far nel nostro tempio.
 Poi ch' ebbe sospirando il capo scosso,
 A ciò non fu' io sol, disse; nè certo
 Senza cagion sarei con gli altri mosso; 90
 Ma fu' io sol colà, dove sofferto
 Fu per ciascuno di tôr via Fiorenza,
 Colui, che la difese a viso aperto.
 Deh, se riposi mai vostra semenza,
 Prega' io lui, solvetemi quel nodo, 95
 Che qui ha inviluppata mia sentenza.
 E' par che voi veggiate, se ben odo,
 Dinanzi quel che 'l tempo seco adduce,
 E nel presente tenete altro modo.
 Noi veggiam, come quei c' ha mala luce, 100
 Le cose, disse, che ne son lontano;
 Cotanto ancor ne splende 'l sommo Duce.
 Quando s' appressano, o son, tutto è vano
 Nostro intelletto; e, s' altri nol ci apporta,
 Nulla sapem di vostro stato umano. 105
 Però comprender puoi, che tutta morta
 Fia nostra conoscenza da quel punto,
 Che del futuro fia chiusa la porta.
 Allor, come di mia colpa compunto,
 Dissi: Or direte dunque a quel caduto, 110
 Che 'l suo nato è co' vivi ancor congiunto.
 E s' io fui dianzi alla risposta muto,
 Fate i saper che il fei, perch' io pensava
 Già nell' error, che m' avete soluto.
 E già 'l Maestro mio mi richiamava; 115
 Per ch' io pregai lo spirito più avaccio,
 Che mi dicesse chi con lui si stava.

Disse mi: Qui con più di mille giaccio:
 Qua entro è lo secondo Federico,
 E 'l Cardinale; e degli altri mi taccio. 120
 Indi s'ascose: ed io invêr l'antico
 Poeta volsi i passi, ripensando
 A quel parlar, che mi pareva nemico.
 Egli sì mosse; e poi, così andando,
 Mi disse: Perchè sei così smarrito? 125
 Ed io gli satisfeci al suo dimando.
 La mente tua conservi quel ch'udito
 Hai contra te, mi comandò quel Saggio,
 Ed ora attendi qui: e drizzò 'l dito.
 Quando sarai dinanzi al dolce raggio 130
 Di quella il cui bell'occhio tutto vede,
 Da lei saprai di tua vita il viaggio.
 Appresso volse a man sinistra il piede:
 Lasciammo 'l muro, e gimmo invêr lo mezzo
 Per un sentier, ch'ad una valle fiede, 135
 Che in fin lassù facea spiacer suo lezzo.

CANTO DECIMOTERZO.

Non era ancor di là Nesso arrivato,
 Quando noi ci mettemmo per un bosco,
 Che da nessun sentiero era segnato.
 Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco;
 Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e involti; 5
 Non pomi v'eran, ma stecchi con toscò.
 Non han sì aspri sterpi, nè sì folti
 Quelle fiere selvagge, che in odio hanno,
 Tra Cecina e Corneto, i luoghi colti.
 Quivi le brutte Arpie lor nido fanno, 10
 Che cacciâr delle Strofade i Troiani,
 Con tristo annunzio di futuro danno.
 Ale hanno late, e colli e visi umani,
 Piè con artigli, e pennuto 'l gran ventre;

Fanno lamenti in su gli alberi strani. 15
 E 'l buon Maestro: Prima che più entre,
 Sappi che se' nel secondo girone,
 Mi cominciò a dire, e sarai, mentre
 Che tu verrai nell' orribil sabbione.
 Però riguarda bene; e sì vedrai 20
 Cose, che daran fede al mio sermone.
 Io sentia d' ogni parte tragger guai,
 E non vedea persona che 'l facesse;
 Per ch' io tutto smarrito m' arrestai.
 I' credo ch' ei credette ch' io credesse 25
 Che tante voci uscisser tra que' bronchi
 Da gente, che per noi si nascondesse.
 Però disse 'l Maestro: Se tu tronchi
 Qualche fraschetta d' una d' este piante,
 Li pensier c' hai si faran tutti monchi. 30
 Allor porsi la mano un poco avante,
 E colsi un ramicello da un gran pruno;
 E 'l tronco suo gridò: Perchè mi schiante?
 Da che fatto fu poi di sangue bruno,
 Ricominciò a gridar: Perchè mi scerpi? 35
 Non hai tu spirto di pietade alcuno?
 Uomini fummo, ed or sèi fatti sterpi:
 Ben dovebb' esser la tua man più pia,
 Se stati fossim' anime di serpi.
 Come d' un tizzo verde, che arso sia 40
 Dall' un de' capi, che dall' altro geme,
 E cigola per vento che va via;
 Così di quella scheggia usciva insieme
 Parole e sangue: ond' io lasciai la cima
 Cadere, e stetti come l' uom che teme. 45
 S' egli avesse potuto creder prima,
 Rispose 'l Savio mio, anima lesa,
 Ciò c' ha veduto pur con la mia rima,
 Non averebbe in te la man distesa;
 Ma la cosa incredibile mi fece 50
 Indurlo ad ovra, ch' a me stesso pesa.
 Ma digli chi tu fosti; sì che, in vece

D'alcuna ammenda, tua fama rinfreschi
Nel mondo su, dove tornar gli lece.
E'l tronco: Sì col dolce dir m'adeschi, 55
Ch' i' non posso tacere; e voi non gravi
Perch' io un poco a ragionar m'inveschi.
I' son colui, che tenni ambo le chiavi
Del cuor di Federigo, e che le volsi,
Serrando e disserrando, sì soavi 60
Che dal segreto suo quasi ogni uom tolsi.
Fede portai al glorioso ufizio,
Tanto, ch' io ne perdei le vene e i polsi.
La meretrice, che mai dall' ospizio
Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti, 65
Morte comune, e delle corti vizio,
Infiammò contra me gli animi tutti,
E gl' infiammati infiammâr sì Augusto,
Che i lieti onor tornaro in tristi lutti.
L' animo mio, per disdegnoso gusto, 70
Credendo col morir fuggir disdegno,
Ingiusto fece me contra me giusto.
Per le nuove radici d' esto legno
Vi giuro, che giammai non ruppi fede
Al mio signor, che fu d' onor sì degno. 75
E se di voi alcun nel mondo riede,
Conforti la memoria mia, che giace
Ancor del colpo che invidia le diede.
Un poco attese; e poi: Da ch' ei si tace,
Disse il Poeta a me, non perder l' ora; 80
Ma parla, e chiedi a lui, se più ti piace.
Ond' io a lui: Dimandal tu ancora
Di quel che credi ch' a me satisfaccia;
Ch' io non potrei; tanta pietà m' accora.
Però ricominciò: Se l' uom ti faccia 85
Liberamente ciò che'l tuo dir prega,
Spirito incarcerato, ancor ti piaccia
Di dirne come l' anima si lega
In questi nocchi: e dinne, se tu puoi,
S' alcuna mai da tai membra si spiega. 90

Allor soffiò lo tronco forte; e poi
 Si convertì quel vento in cotal voce:
 Brevemente sarà risposto a voi.
 Quando si parte l'anima feroce
 Dal corpo, ond' ella stessa s'è disvelta, 95
 Minòs la manda alla settima foce.
 Cade in la selva, e non l'è parte scelta;
 Ma là dove fortuna la balestra,
 Quivi germoglia come gran di spelta.
 Surge in vermena, ed in pianta silvestra: 100
 L'Arpie, pascendo poi delle sue foglie,
 Fanno dolore, ed al dolor finestra.
 Come l'altre verrem per nostre spoglie,
 Ma non però ch'alcuna sen rivesta;
 Chè non è giusto aver ciò ch'uom si toglie: 105
 Qui le trascineremo; e per la mesta
 Selva saranno i nostri corpi appesi,
 Ciascuno al prun dell'ombra sua molesta.
 Noi eravamo ancora al tronco attesi,
 Credendo ch'altro ne volesse dire; 110
 Quando noi fummo d'un romor sorpresi,
 Similmente a colui, che venire
 Sente'l porco e la caccia alla sua posta,
 Ch'ode le bestie, e le frasche stormire.
 Ed ecco duo dalla sinistra costa, 115
 Nudi e graffiata, fuggendo sì forte,
 Che della selva rompieno ogni rosta.
 E quel dinanzi: Accorri, accorri, Morte;
 E l'altro, a cui pareva tardar troppo,
 Gridava: Lano, sì non furo accorte 120
 Le gambe tue alle giostre del Toppo.
 E poi che forse gli fallia la lena,
 Di sè e d'un cespuglio fece un groppo.
 Diretro a loro era la selva piena
 Di nere cagne, bramose e correnti, 125
 Come veltri, ch'uscisser di catena.
 In quel che s'appiattò miser li denti:
 E quel dilaceraro a brano a brano;

Poi sen portâr quelle membra dolenti.
 Presemi allor la mia Scorta per mano, 130
 E menommi al cespuglio, che piangea,
 Per le rotture sanguinenti, invano :
 O Jacopo, dicea, da sant' Andrea,
 Che t'è giovato di me fare schermo ?
 Che colpa ho io della tua vita rea ? 135
 Quando 'l Maestro fu sovr' esso fermo,
 Disse : Chi fosti, che per tante punte
 Soffi col sangue doloroso sermo ?
 E quegli a noi : O anime, che giunte
 Siete a veder lo strazio disonesto, 140
 C'ha le mie frondi sì da me disgiunte,
 Raccoglietele al piè del tristo cesto.
 Io fui della città, che nel Battista
 Cangìò 'l primo padrone ; ond' ei per questo
 Sempre con l' arte sua la farà trista. 145
 E se non fosse che in sul passo d' Arno
 Rimane ancor di lui alcuna vista,
 Quei cittadin, che poi la rifondarno
 Sovra 'l cener, che d' Attila rimase,
 Avrebber fatto lavorare indarno. 150
 Io fei gibetto a me delle mie case.

CANTO DECIMOSETTIMO.

Ecco la fiera con la coda aguzza,
 Che passa monti, e rompe muri ed armi :
 Ecco colei che tutto il mondo appuzza.
 Sì cominciò lo mio Duca a parlarmi ;
 Ed accennolle che venisse a proda, 5
 Vicino al fin de' passeggiati marmi.
 E quella sozza imagine di froda
 Sen venne, ed arrivò la testa e 'l busto ;
 Ma in su la riva non trasse la coda.
 La faccia sua era faccia d' uom giusto, 10

Tanto benigna avea di fuor la pelle;
E d'un serpente tutto l'altro fusto.
Duo branche avea pilose infin l'ascelle;
Lo dosso e 'l petto ed ambedue le coste
Dipinte avea di nodi e di rotelle. 15
Con più color sommesse e soprapposte
Non fêr mai in drappo Tartari nè Turchi,
Nè fur tai tele per Aracne imposte.
Comè talvolta stanno a riva i burchi,
Che parte sono in acqua e parte in terra; 20
E come là tra li Tedeschi lurchi
Lo bevero s'assetta a far sua guerra;
Così la fiera pessima si stava
Su l'orlo che di pietra il sabbion serra.
Nel vano tutta sua coda guizzava, 25
Torcendo in su la venenosa forca,
Ch'a guisa di scorpion la punta armava.
Lo Duca disse: Or convien che si torca
La nostra via un poco infino a quella
Bestia malvagia, che colà si corca. 30
Però scendemmo alla destra mammella,
E dieci passi femmo in su lo stremo,
Per ben cansar la rena e la fiammella:
E quando noi a lei venuti semo,
Poco più oltre veggio in su la rena 35
Gente seder, propinqua al luogo scemo.
Quivi 'l Maestro: Acciocchè tutta piena
Esperienza d'esto giron porti,
Mi disse, or va', e vedi la lor mena.
Li tuoi ragionamenti sien là corti: 40
Mentre che torni, parlerò con questa,
Che ne conceda i suoi omeri forti.
Così ancor su per la strema testa
Di quel settimo cerchio, tutto solo
Andai, ove sedea la gente mesta. 45
Per gli occhi fuori scoppiava lor duolo:
Di qua, di là soccorrean con le mani
Quando a' vapori, e quando al caldo suolo.

Non altrimenti fan di state i cani
Or col ceffo, or col piè, quando son morsi 50
O da pulci, o da mosche, o da tafani.
Poi che nel viso a' detti gli occhi porsì,
Ne' quali il doloroso fuoco casca,
Non ne conobbi alcun; ma io m'accorsi
Che dal collo a ciascun pendea una tasca, 55
Ch'avea certo colore e certo segno;
E quindi par che 'l loro occhio si pasca.
E com'io riguardando fra lor vegno,
In una borsa gialla vidi azzurro,
Che di lione avea faccia e contegno. 60
Poi procedendo di mio sguardo il curro,
Vidine un'altra, più che sangue, rossa
Mostrare un'oca bianca più che burro.
Ed un, che d'una scrofa azzurra e grossa
Segnato avea lo suo sacchetto bianco, 65
Mi disse: Che fai tu in questa fossa?
Or te ne va': e perchè se' vivo anco,
Sappi che 'l mio vicin Vitaliano
Sederà qui dal mio sinistro fianco.
Con questi Fiorentin son Padovano, 70
Che spesse fiate m'intronan gli orecchi,
Gridando: Vegna il cavalier sovrano,
Che recherà la tasca co' tre becchi:
Quindi storse la bocca, e di fuor trasse
La lingua, come bue che il naso lecchi. 75
Ed io, temendo nol più star crucciasse
Lui, che di poco star m'avea ammonito,
Tornaimi indietro dall'anime lasse.
Trovai lo Duca mio, ch'era salito
Già sulla groppa del fiero animale; 80
E disse a me: Or sii forte ed ardito;
Omai si scende per siffatte scale:
Monta dinanzi; ch'io voglio esser mezzo,
Sì che la coda non possa far male.
Quale colui ch'è sì presso al riprezzo 85
Della quartana, c'ha già l'unghie smorte,

E triema tutto, pur guardando il rezzo;
 Tal divenn' io alle parole pôrte:
 Ma vergogna mi fêr le sue minacce,
 Che innanzi a buon signor fa servo forte. 90
 Io m' assettai in su quelle spallacce:
 Sî volli dir, ma la voce non venne,
 Com' io credetti: Fa' che tu m'abbracce.
 Ma esso, che altra volta mi sovvenne
 Ad altro forte, tosto ch' io montai, 95
 Con le braccia m' avvinse e mi sostenne:
 E disse: Gerïon, muoviti omai:
 Le ruote larghe, e lo scender sia poco;
 Pensa la nuova soma che tu hai.
 Come la navicella esce di loco 100
 In dietro in dietro, sî quindi si tolse:
 E poi ch' al tutto si sentì a giuoco,
 Dov' era 'l petto, la coda rivolse;
 E quella tesa, com' anguilla, mosse,
 E con le branche l' aere a sè raccolse. 105
 Maggior paura non credo che fosse,
 Quando Fetonte abbandonò gli freni,
 Per che 'l ciel, com' appare ancor, si cosse;
 Nè quando Icaro misero le reni
 Sentì spennar per la scaldata cera, 110
 Gridando 'l padre a lui: Mala via tieni;
 Che fu la mia, quando vidi ch' i' era
 Nell' aer d' ogni parte, e vidi spenta
 Ogni veduta, fuor che della fiera.
 Ella sen va notando lenta lenta: 115
 Ruota e discende, ma non me n' accorgo,
 Se non ch' al viso e di sotto mi venta.
 I' sentia già dalla man destra il gorgo
 Far sotto noi un orribile stroscio;
 Per che con gli occhi in giù la testa sporgo. 120
 Allor fu' io più timido allo scoscio;
 Perocch' io vidi fuochi e sentii pianti,
 Ond' io tremando tutto mi raccoscio.
 E vidi poi, chè nol vedea davanti,

Lo scender e 'l girar, per li gran mali
 Che s' appressavan da diversi canti. 125
 Come 'l falcon, ch' è stato assai sull' ali,
 Che, senza veder logoro od uccello,
 Fa dire al falconiere: Oimè tu cali;
 Discende lasso, onde si mosse snello, 130
 Per cento ruote, e da lungi si pone
 Dal suo maestro, disdegnoso e fello;
 Così ne pose al fondo Gerione,
 A piè a piè della stagliata rocca;
 E, discarcate le nostre persone, 135
 Si dileguò, come da corda cocca.

CANTO DECIMONONO.

O Simon mago, o miseri seguaci,
 Che le cose di Dio, che di bontate
 Debbon essere spose, e voi rapaci
 Per oro e per argento adulterate;
 Or convien che per voi suoni la tromba, 5
 Perocchè nella terza bolgia state.
 Già eravamo alla seguente tomba,
 Montati dello scoglio in quella parte,
 Ch' appunto sovra mezzo 'l fosso piomba.
 O somma Sapienza, quant' è l' arte 10
 Che mostri in cielo, in terra e nel mal mondo,
 E quanto giusto tua virtù comparte!
 Io vidi per le coste, e per lo fondo,
 Piena la pietra livida di fori
 D' un largo tutti; e ciascuno era tondo. 15
 Non mi parean meno ampi, nè maggiori
 Che quei, che son nel mio bel San Giovanni,
 Fatti per luogo de' battezzatori.
 L' un degli quali, ancor non è molt' anni,
 Rupp' io per un che dentro v' annegava: 20
 E questo fia suggel, ch' ogni uomo sganni.

Fuor della bocca a ciascun soverchiava
 D' un peccator li piedi, e delle gambe
 In fino al grosso ; e l' altro dentro stava.
 Le piante erano a tutti accese intrambe; 25
 Per che sì forte guizzavan le giunte,
 Che spezzate averian ritorte e strambe.
 Qual suole il fiammeggiar delle cose unte
 Muoversi pur su per l' estrema buccia;
 Tal era lì da' calcagni alle punte. 30
 Chi è colui, Maestro, che si cruccia,
 Guizzando più che gli altri suoi consorti,
 Diss' io, e cui più rossa fiamma succia?
 Ed egli a me: Se tu vuoi ch' io ti porti
 Laggiù per quella ripa, che più giace, 35
 Da lui saprai di sè e de' suoi torti.
 Ed io: Tanto m' è bel quanto a te piace:
 Tu se' signore, e sai ch' io non mi parto
 Dal tuo volere ; e sai quel che si tace.
 Allor venimmo in su l' argine quarto: 40
 Volgemma e discendemmo a mano stanca
 Laggiù nel fondo foracchiato ed arto.
 E 'l buon Maestro ancor dalla sua anca
 Non mi dipose, sin mi giunse al rotto
 Di quei, che sì piangeva con la zanca. 45
 O qual che se', che 'l di su tien di sotto,
 Anima trista, come pal commessa,
 Comincia' io a dir, se puoi, fa' motto.
 Io stava come 'l frate che confessa
 Lo perfido assassin, che, poi ch' è fitto, 50
 Richiama lui, per che la morte cessa.
 Ed ei gridò: Se' tu già costì ritto,
 Se' tu già costì ritto, Bonifazio?
 Di parecchi anni mi mentì lo scritto.
 Se' tu sì tosto di quell' aver sazio, 55
 Per lo qual non temesti tôrre a inganno
 La bella Donna, e dipoi farne strazio?
 Tal mi fec' io, quali color che stanno,
 Per non intender ciò ch' è lor risposto,

- Quasi scornati, e risponder non sanno. 60
 Allor Virgilio disse: Digli tosto:
 Non son colui, non son colui che credi.
 Ed io risposi com' a me fu imposto.
 Per che lo spirto tutti storse i piedi:
 Poi sospirando, con voce di pianto 65
 Mi disse: Dunque che a me richiedi?
 Se di saper ch' io sia ti cal cotanto,
 Che tu abbi per ciò la ripa scorsa,
 Sappi, ch' io fui vestito del gran manto:
 E veramente fui figliuol dell' orsa, 70
 Cupido sì, per avanzar gli orsatti,
 Che su l' avere, e qui me misi in borsa.
 Di sott' al capo mio son gli altri tratti,
 Che precedetter me simoneggiando,
 Per la fessura della pietra piatti. 75
 Laggiù cascherò io altresì, quando
 Verrà colui ch' io credea che tu fossi,
 Allor ch' io feci il subito dimando.
 Ma più è 'l tempo già che i piè mi cossi,
 E ch' io son stato così sottosopra, 80
 Ch' ei non starà piantato co' piè rossi;
 Chè dopo lui verrà, di più laid' opra,
 Di vèr ponente un pastor senza legge,
 Tal che convien che lui e me ricuopra.
 Nuovo Giason sarà, di cui si legge 85
 Ne' Maccabei: e come a quel fu molle
 Suo re, così fia a lui chi Francia regge.
 Io non so s' io mi fui qui troppo folle,
 Ch' io pur risposi lui per questo metro:
 Deh or mi di' quanto tesoro volle 90
 Nostro Signore in prima da san Pietro,
 Che ponesse le chiavi in sua balía?
 Certo non chiese, se non: Viemmi dietro.
 Nè Pier, nè gli altri chiesero a Mattia
 Oro od argento, quando fu sortito 95
 Nel luogo, che perdè l' anima rìa.
 Però ti sta', chè tu se' ben punito:

E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
Ch' esser ti fece contra Carlo ardito.
E se non fosse ch' ancor lo mi vieta 100
La riverenzia delle somme chiavi,
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,
Io userei parole ancor più gravi;
Chè la vostra avarizia il mondo attrista,
Calcando i buoni, e sollevando i pravi. 105
Di voi, Pastor, s' accorse 'l Vangelista,
Quando colei, che siede sovra l' acque,
Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista;
Quella che con le sette teste nacque,
E dalle diece corna ebbe argomento, 110
Fin che virtude al suo marito piacque.
Fatto v' avete Dio d' oro e d' argento:
E che altro è da voi agl' idolatre,
Se non ch' egli uno, e voi n' orate cento?
Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre, 115
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote,
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!
E mentre io gli cantava cotai note,
O ira o coscienza che 'l mordesse,
Forte spingava con ambo le piote. 120
Io credo ben ch' al mio Duca piacesse;
Con sì contenta labbia sempre attese
Lo suon delle parole vere espresse.
Però con ambo le braccia mi prese,
E poi che tutto su mi s' ebbe al petto, 125
Rimontò per la via, onde discese:
Nè si stancò d' avermi a sè ristretto,
Sin mi portò sovra 'l colmo dell' arco,
Che dal quarto al quinto argine è tragetto.
Quivi soavemente sposò il carico 130
Soave per lo scoglio sconcio ed erto,
Che sarebbe alle capre duro varco.
Indi un altro vallon mi fu scoperto.

CANTO VIGESIMOPRIMO.

Così di ponte in ponte altro parlando,
 Che la mia commedia cantar non cura,
 Venimmo; e tenevamo 'l colmo, quando
 Ristemmo, per veder l' altra fessura
 Di Malebolge, e gli altri pianti vani; 5
 E vidila mirabilmente oscura.
 Quale nell' arzanà de' Viniziani
 Bolle l' inverno la tenace pece,
 A rimpalmar li legni lor non sani,
 Che navicar non ponno; e 'n quella vece 10
 Chi fa suo legno nuovo, e chi ristoppa
 Le coste a quel che più viaggi fece;
 Chi ribatte da proda e chi da poppa;
 Altri fa remi, ed altri volge sarte;
 Chi terzeruolo ed artimon rintoppa; 15
 Tal, non per fuoco, ma per divina arte,
 Bollia laggiuso una pegola spessa,
 Che inviscava la ripa d' ogni parte.
 Io vedea lei, ma non vedeva in essa
 Ma' che le bolle che 'l bollor levava, 20
 E gonfiar tutta, e riseder compressa.
 Mentr' io laggiù fisamente mirava,
 Lo Duca mio, dicendo: Guarda, guarda,
 Mi trasse a sè del luogo, dov' io stava.
 Allor mi volsi come l' uom, cui tarda 25
 Di veder quel che gli convien fuggire,
 E cui paura subita sgagliarda,
 Che, per veder, non indugia 'l partire:
 E vidi dietro a noi un diavol nero
 Correndo su per lo scoglio venire. 30
 Ah! quant' egli era nell' aspetto fiero!
 E quanto mi pareva nell' atto acerbo,
 Con l' ale aperte, e sovra i piè leggiero!
 L' omero suo, ch' era acuto e superbo,
 Carcava un peccator con ambo l' anche, 35

Ed ei tenea de' piè ghermito il nerbo.
 Dal nostro ponte, disse, O Malebranche,
 Ecc' un degli anzian di santa Zita:
 Mettetel sotto; ch' io torno per anche
 A quella terra, che n' è ben fornita: 40
 Ogni uom v' è barattier, fuor che Bonturo:
 Del no, per li denar, vi si fa ita.
 Laggiù 'l buttò; e per lo scoglio duro
 Si volse: e mai non fu mastino sciolto
 Con tanta fretta a seguitar lo furo. 45
 Quei s' attuffò, e tornò su convolto:
 Ma i demon, che del ponte avean coverchio,
 Gridâr: Qui non ha luogo il santo Volto:
 Qui si nuota altrimenti che nel Serchio:
 Però, se tu non vuoi de' nostri graffi, 50
 Non far sopra la pegola soverchio.
 Poi l' addentâr con più di cento raffi:
 Disser: Covertò convien che qui balli;
 Sì che, se puoi, nascosamente accaffi.
 Non altrimenti i cuochi a' lor vassalli 55
 Fanno attuffare in mezzo la caldaia
 La carne con gli uncin, perchè non galli.
 Lo buon Maestro: Acciocchè non si paia
 Che tu ci sii, mi disse, giù t' acquatta
 Dopo uno scheggio, ch' alcun schermo t' haia; 60
 E per nulla offension, che a me sia fatta,
 Non temer tu; ch' io ho le cose conte,
 Perch' altra volta fui a tal baratta.
 Poscia passò di là dal co' del ponte,
 E com' ei giunse in su la ripa sesta, 65
 Mestier gli fu d' aver sicura fronte.
 Con quel furore e con quella tempesta
 Ch' escono i cani addosso al poverello,
 Che di subito chiede ove s' arresta;
 Esciron quei di sotto 'l ponticello, 70
 E volser contra lui tutti i roncigli;
 Ma ei gridò: Nessun di voi sia fello.
 Innanzi che l' uncin vostro mi pigli

Traggasi avanti uno di voi che m'oda;
 E poi di roncigliarmi si consigli. 75
 Tutti gridaron: Vada Malacoda:
 Per ch' un si mosse, e gli altri stetter fermi,
 E venne a lui, dicendo: Che t' approda?
 Credi tu, Malacoda, qui vedermi
 Esser venuto, disse 'l mio Maestro, 80
 Securo già da tutti i vostri schermi,
 Senza voler divino, e fato destro?
 Lasciami andar: chè nel cielo è voluto
 Ch' io mostri altrui questo cammin silvestro.
 Allor gli fu l' orgoglio sì caduto, 85
 Che si lasciò cascar l' uncino a' piedi,
 E disse agli altri: Omai non sia feruto.
 E 'l Duca mio a me: O tu, che siedì
 Tra gli scheggion del ponte quatto quatto,
 Sicuramente ormai a me ti riedi. 90
 Per ch' io mi mossi, ed a lui venni ratto:
 E i diavoli si fecer tutti avanti;
 Sì ch' io temetti non tenesser patto.
 E così vid' io già temer li fanti,
 Ch' uscivan patteggiati di Caprona, 95
 Veggendo sè tra nemici cotanti.
 Io m' accostai con tutta la persona
 Lungo 'l mio Duca; e non torceva gli occhi
 Dalla sembianza lor, ch' era non buona.
 Ei chinavan gli raffi; e: Vuoi ch' io 'l tocchi, 100
 Diceva l' un coll' altro, in sul groppone?
 E rispondean: Sì, fa' che gliele accocchi.
 Ma quel demonio, che tenea sermone
 Col Duca mio, si volse tutto presto,
 E disse: Posa, posa, Scarmiglione. 105
 Poi disse a noi: Più oltre andar per questo
 Scoglio non si potrà, perocchè giace
 Tutto spezzato al fondo l' arco sesto.
 E se l' andare avanti pur vi piace,
 Andatevene su per questa grotta: 110
 Presso è un altro scoglio, che via face.

Ier, più oltre cinqu' ore che quest' otta,
 Mille dugento con sessanta sei
 Anni compîer, che qui la via fu rotta.
 Io mando verso là di questi miei, 115
 A riguardar s' alcun se ne sciorina:
 Gite con lor; ch' e' non saranno rei.
 Trâtti avanti, Alichino e Calcabrina,
 Cominciò egli a dire, e tu, Cagnazzo;
 E Barbariccia guidi la decina. 120
 Libicocco vegna oltre, e Draghignazzo,
 Ciriatto sannuto, e Graffiacane,
 E Fàrfarello, e Rubicante pazzo.
 Cercate intorno le bollenti pane:
 Costor sian salvi insino all' altro scheggio, 125
 Che tutto intero va sopra le tane.
 Omè, Maestro, che è quel ch' io veggio?
 Diss' io: deh senza scorta andiamci soli,
 Se tu sa' ir: ch' io per me non la cheggio:
 Se tu se' sì accorto come suoli, 130
 Non vedi tu ch' e' digrignan li denti,
 E con le ciglia ne minaccian duoli?
 Ed egli a me: Non vo' che tu paventi:
 Lasciali digrignar pure a lor senno,
 Ch' e' fanno ciò per li lessi dolenti. 135
 Per l' argine sinistro volta dienno;
 Ma prima avea ciascun la lingua stretta
 Co' denti verso lor duca, per cenno.

CANTO VIGESIMOSECONDO.

Io vidi già cavalier muover campo,
 E cominciare stormo, e far lor mostra,
 E tal volta partir per loro scampo;
 Corridor vidi per la terra vostra,
 O Aretini; e vidi gir gualdane, 5
 Ferir torneamenti, e correr giostra,

Quando con trombe, e quando con campane,
 Con tamburi, e con cenni di castella,
 E con cose nostrali e con istrane:
 Nè già con sì diversa cennamella 10
 Cavalier vidi muover, nè pedoni,
 Nè nave a segno di terra o di stella.
 Noi andavam con li dieci dimoni
 (Ahi fiera compagnia!); ma nella chiesa
 Co' santi, ed in taverna co' ghiottoni. 15
 Pure alla pegola era la mia intesa,
 Per veder della bolgia ogni contegno,
 E della gente, ch' entro v' era incesa.
 Come i delfini, quando fanno segno
 A' marinar con l' arco della schiena, 20
 Che s' argomentin di campar lor legno;
 Talor così ad alleggiar la pena
 Mostrava alcun de' peccatori 'l dosso,
 E 'l nascondeva in men che non balena.
 E com' all' orlo dell' acqua d' un fosso 25
 Stan gli ranocchi pur col muso fuori,
 Sì che celano i piedi e l' altro grosso;
 Sì stavan d' ogni parte i peccatori:
 Ma come s' appressava Barbariccia,
 Così si ritraean sotto i bollori. 30
 Io vidi, ed anche 'l cuor mi s' accapriccia,
 Uno aspettar così, com' egli incontra
 Ch' una rana rimane, e l' altra spiccia.
 E Graffiacan, che gli era più di contra,
 Gli arroncigliò le impegolate chiome, 35
 E trassel su, che mi parve una lontra.
 Io sapea già di tutti quanti il nome;
 Sì li notai, quando furon eletti,
 E poi che si chiamaro, attesi come.
 O Rubicante, fa' che tu gli metti 40
 Gli unghioni addosso sì, che tu lo scuoi:
 Gridavan tutti insieme i maladetti.
 Ed io: Maestro mio, fa', se tu puoi,
 Che tu sappi chi è lo sciagurato

- Venuto a man degli avversari suoi. 45
 Lo Duca mio gli s' accostò dallato:
 Domandollo ond' e' fosse; e quei rispose:
 Io fui del regno di Navarra nato.
 Mia madre a servo d' un signor mi pose,
 Che m' avea generato d' un ribaldo, 50
 Distruggitor di sè, e di sue cose.
 Poi fui famiglia del buon re Tebaldo:
 Quivi mi misi a far baratteria;
 Di che rendo ragione in questo caldo.
 E Ciriatto, a cui di bocca uscía 55
 D' ogni parte una sanna, come a porco,
 Gli fe sentir come l' una sdrucia.
 Tra male gatte ero venuto 'l sorco:
 Ma Barbariccia il chiuse con le braccia,
 E disse: State in là, mentr' io lo inforco. 60
 Ed al Maestro mio volse la faccia:
 Dimandal, disse, ancor, se più disii
 Saper da lui, prima ch' altri 'l disfaccia.
 Lo Duca: Dunque or di' degli altri rii:
 Conosci tu alcun che sia latino 65
 Sotto 'la pece? E quegli: Io mi partii
 Poco è da un, che fu di là vicino:
 Così foss' io ancor con lui coverto,
 Chè io non temerei unghia nè uncino.
 E Libicocco: Troppo avem sofferto, 70
 Disse: e preseglì 'l braccio col ronciglio,
 Sì che, stracciando, ne portò un lacerto.
 Draghignazzo anch' ei volle dar di piglio
 Giuso alle gambe; onde 'l decurio loro
 Si volse intorno intorno con mal piglio. 75
 Quand' elli un poco rappaciatì foro,
 A lui, ch' ancor mirava sua ferita,
 Dimandò 'l Duca mio, senza dimoro:
 Chi fu colui, da cui mala partita
 Di' che facesti, per venire a proda? 80
 Ed ei rispose: Fu frate Gomita,
 Quel di Gallura, vassel d' ogni froda,

Ch' ebbe i nemici di suo donno in mano,
 E fe lor sì, che ciascun se ne loda:
 Denar si tolse, e lasciollì di piano, 85
 Sì com' e' dice: e negli altri uffici anche
 Barattier fu non picciol, ma sovrano.
 Usa con esso donno Michel Zanche
 Di Logodoro; ed a dir di Sardigna
 Le lingue lor non si sentono stanche. 90
 Omè! vedete l' altro che digrigna:
 I' direi anche, ma io temo ch' ello
 Non s' apparecchi a grattarmi la tigna.
 E 'l gran proposto, vòlto a Farfarello,
 Che stralunava gli occhi per ferire, 95
 Disse: Fatti in costà, malvagio uccello.
 Se voi volete o vedere o udire,
 Ricominciò lo spaurato appresso,
 Toschi o Lombardi, io ne farò venire.
 Ma stien li Malebranche un poco in cesso, 100
 Sì ch' ei non teman delle lor vendette:
 Ed io, seggendo in questo luogo stesso,
 Per un ch' io son, ne farò venir sette,
 Quando sufolerò, com' è nostr' uso
 Di fare allor che fuori alcun si mette. 105
 Cagnazzo a cotal motto levò 'l muso,
 Crollando il capo; e disse: Odi malizia
 Ch' egli ha pensato, per gittarsi giuso!
 Ond' ei, ch' avea lacciuoli a gran divizia,
 Rispose: Malizioso son io troppo, 110
 Quando procuro a' miei maggior tristizia!
 Alichin non si tenne, e di rintoppo
 Agli altri, disse a lui: Se tu ti cali,
 Io non ti verrò dietro di galoppo,
 Ma batterò sovra la pece l' ali: 115
 Lascisi il collo, e sia la ripa scudo,
 A veder se tu sol più di noi vali.
 O tu che leggi, udirai nuovo ludo.
 Ciascun dall' altra costa gli occhi volse;
 E quel pria, ch' a ciò fare era più crudo. 120

Lo Navarrese ben suo tempo colse :
 Fermò le piante a terra, ed in un punto
 Saltò, e dal proposto lor si tolse.
 Di che ciascun di colpo fu compunto,
 Ma quei più, che cagion fu del difetto : 125
 Però si mosse, e gridò : Tu sè' giuntò.
 Ma poco i valse ; chè l' ale al sospetto
 Non potero avanzar : quegli andò sotto,
 E quei drizzò, volando, suso il petto :
 Non altrimenti l' anitra di botto, 130
 Quando 'l falcon s' appressa, giù s' attuffa ;
 Ed ei ritorna su crucciato e rotto.
 Irato Calcabrina della buffa,
 Volando dietro gli tenne, invaghito
 Che quei campasse, per aver la zuffa. 135
 E come 'l barattier fu disparito,
 Così volse gli artigli al suo compagno,
 E fu con lui sovra 'l fosso ghermito.
 Ma l' altro fu bene sparvier grifagno
 Ad artigliar ben lui : ed ambedue 140
 Cadder nel mezzo del bollente stagno.
 Lo caldo sghermidor subito fue ;
 Ma però di levarsi era niente,
 Sì avieno inviscate l' ale sue.
 Barbariccia con gli altri suoi dolente, 145
 Quattro ne fe volar dall' altra costa
 Con tutti i raffi ; ed assai prestamente
 Di qua, di là discesero alla posta :
 Porser gli uncini verso gl' impaniati,
 Ch' eran già cotti dentro dalla crosta : 150
 E noi lasciammo lor così impacciati.

CANTO TRIGESIMOPRIMO.

Una medesima lingua pria mi morse,
 Sì che mi tinse l' una e l' altra guancia,
 E poi la medicina mi riporse.

Così od' io, che soleva la lancia
D' Achille e del suo padre esser cagione 5
Prima di trista, e poi di buona mancia.
Noi demmo 'l dosso al misero vallone
Su per la ripa, che 'l cinge dintorno,
Attraversando senza alcun sermone.
Quivi era men che notte e men che giorno, 10
Sì che 'l viso m' andava innanzi poco:
Ma io senti' sonare un alto corno
Tanto, che avrebbe ogni tuon fatto fioco;
Che, contra sè la sua via seguitando,
Dirizzò gli occhi miei tutti ad un loco. 15
Dopo la dolorosa rotta, quando
Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta,
Non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando.
Poco portai in là volta la testa,
Che mi parve veder molte alte torri; 20
Ond' io: Maestro, di', che terra è questa?
Ed egli a me: Però che tu trascorri
Per le tenebre troppo dalla lungi,
Avvien che poi nel maginare aborri:
Tu vedrai ben, se tu là ti congiungi, 25
Quanto 'l senso s' inganna di lontano:
Però alquanto più te stesso pungi.
Poi caramente mi prese per mano,
E disse: Pria che noi siam più avanti,
Acciocchè 'l fatto men ti paia strano, 30
Sappi che non son torri, ma giganti;
E son nel pozzo intorno dalla ripa,
Dall' umbilico in giuso, tutti quanti.
Come quando la nebbia si dissipa,
Lo sguardo a poco a poco raffigura 35
Ciò che cela 'l vapor, che l' aere stipa;
Così forando l' aer grossa e scura,
Più e più appressando invêr la sponda,
Fuggiami errore, e giugneami paura.
Perocchè, come in su la cerchia tonda 40
Montereggion di torri si corona;

Così la proda, che 'l pozzo circonda,
 Torreggiavan di mezza la persona
 Gli orribili giganti, cui minaccia
 Giove dal cielo ancora, quando tuona. 45
 Ed io scorgeva già d' alcun la faccia,
 Le spalle e 'l petto e del ventre gran parte,
 E, per le coste giù, ambo le braccia.
 Natura certo, quando lasciò l' arte
 Di sì fatti animali, assai fe bene, 50
 Per tôr via tali esecutori a Marte.
 E s' ella d' elefanti e di balene
 Non si pente, chi guarda sottilmente,
 Più giusta e più discreta ne la tiene;
 Chè dove l' argomento della mente 55
 S' aggiunge al mal volere ed alla possa,
 Nessun riparo vi può far la gente.
 La faccia sua mi pareva lunga e grossa,
 Come la pina di San Pietro a Roma;
 Ed a sua proporzione eran l' altr' ossa. 60
 Sì che la ripa, ch' era perizoma
 Dal mezzo in giù, ne mostrava ben tanto
 Di sopra, che di giungere alla chioma
 Tre Frison s' averian dato mal vanto;
 Perocch' io ne vedea trenta gran palmi 65
 Dal luogo in giù dov' uom s' affibbia 'l manto.
 Raphael mai amech zabì almi,
 Cominciò a gridar la fiera bocca,
 Cui non si convenien più dolci salmi.
 E 'l Duca mio vêr lui: Anima sciocca, 70
 Tienti col corno, e con quel ti disfoga,
 Quand' ira od altra passion ti tocca.
 Cércati al collo, e troverai la soga,
 Che 'l tien legato, o anima confusa;
 E vedi lui, che 'l gran petto ti dogà. 75
 Poi disse a me: Egli stesso s' accusa:
 Questi è Nembrotto, per lo cui mal coto,
 Pure un linguaggio nel mondo non s' usa.
 Lasciamlo stare, e non parliamo a voto;

Chè così è a lui ciascun linguaggio, 80
Come 'l suo ad altrui; ch' a nullo à noto.
Facemmo adunque più lungo viaggio,
Vôlti a sinistra; ed al trar d'un balestro
Trovammo l' altro assai più fiero e maggio.
A cinger lui, qual che fosse il maestro, 85
Non so io dir; ma ei tenea succinto
Dinanzi l' altro, e dietro 'l braccio destro,
D' una catena che 'l tenea avvinto
Dal collo in giù, sì che 'n su lo scoperto
Si ravvolgeva infino al giro quinto. 90
Questo superbo voll' essere sperto
Di sua potenza contra 'l sommo Giove,
Disse 'l mio Duca; ond' egli ha cotal merto.
Fialte ha nome; e fece le gran pruove
Quando i giganti fêr paura ai Dei: 95
Le braccia, ch' ei menò, giammai non muove.
Ed io a lui: S' esser puote, i' vorrei,
Che dello smisurato Briareo
Esperienza avesser gli occhi miei.
Ond' ei rispose: Tu vedrai Anteo 100
Presso di qui, che parla, ed è disciolto;
Che ne porrà nel fondo d'ogni reo.
Quel, che tu vuoi veder, più là è molto;
Ed è legato, e fatto come questo;
Salvo che più feroce par nel volto. 105
Non fu tremuoto mai tanto rubesto,
Che scotesse una torre così forte,
Come Fialte a scuotersi fu presto.
Allor temetti più che mai la morte;
E non v' era mestier più, che la dotta, 110
S' io non avessi viste le ritorte.
Noi procedemmo più avanti allotta,
E venimmo ad Anteo, che ben cinqu' alle,
Senza la testa, uscìa fuor della grotta.
O tu, che nella fortunata valle, 115
Che fece Scipion di gloria reda,
Quand' Annibàl co' suoi diede le spalle,

Recasti già mille lion per preda ;
 E che, se fossi stato all' alta guerra
 De' tuoi fratelli, ancor par ch' e' si creda 120
 Ch' avrebbon vinto i figli della terra ;
 Mettine giuso (e non ten venga schifo)
 Dove Cocito la freddura serra.
 Non ci far ire a Tizio nè a Tifo :
 Questi può dar di quel che qui si brama : 125
 Però ti china, e non torcer lo grifo.
 Ancor ti può nel mondo render fama ;
 Ch' ei vive, e lunga vita ancora aspetta,
 Se innanzi tempo grazia a sè nol chiama.
 Così disse 'l Maestro ; e quegli in fretta 130
 Le man distese, e prese il Duca mio,
 Ond' Ercole sentì già grande stretta.
 Virgilio, quando prender si sentio,
 Disse a me : Fàtti 'n qua sì ch' io ti prenda.
 Poi fece sì, ch' un fascio er' egli ed io. 135
 Qual pare a riguardar la Carisenda
 Sotto 'l chinato, quando un nuvol vada
 Sovr' essa sì, ch' ella in contrario penda ;
 Tal parve Anteo a me, che stava a bada
 Di vederlo chinare : e fu tal ora, 140
 Ch' i' avrei voluto gir per altra strada.
 Ma lievemente al fondo, che divora
 Lucifero con Giuda, ci posò :
 Nè sì chinato lì fece dimora,
 Ma come albero in nave si levò. 145

CANTO TRIGESIMOSECONDO.

S' io avessi le rime ed aspre e chiocce,
 Come si converrebbe al tristo buco,
 Sovra 'l qual pontan tutte l' altre rocce,
 Io premerei di mio concetto il suco
 Più pienamente ; ma perch' io non l' abbo, 5

Non senza tema a dicer mi conduco.
 Chè non è impresa da pigliare a gabbo
 Descriver fondo a tutto l'universo,
 Nè da lingua che chiami mamma e babbo.
 Ma quelle Donne aiutino 'l mio verso, 10
 Ch' aiutorno Anfione a chiuder Tebe;
 Sì che dal fatto il dir non sia diverso.
 Oh sovra tutte mal creata plebe,
 Che stai nel loco onde parlar m'è duro,
 Me' foste state quì pecore o zebe! 15
 Come noi fummo giù nel pozzo scuro
 Sotto i piè del gigante, assai più bassi,
 Ed io mirava ancora all'alto muro,
 Dicere udi' mi: Guarda come passi;
 Fa'sì che tu non calchi con le piante 20
 Le teste dei fratei miseri lassi.
 Per ch'io mi volsi, e vidimi davante
 E sotto i piedi un lago, che per gielo
 Avea di vetro, e non d'acqua, semblante.
 Non fece al corso suo sì grosso velo 25
 Di verno la Danoia in Austericch,
 Nè il Tanai là sotto lo freddo cielo,
 Com'era quivi: chè se Tabernicch
 Vi fosse su caduto, o Pietrapana,
 Non avria pur dall'orlo fatto cricch. 30
 E come a gracidar si sta la rana
 Col muso fuor dell'acqua, quando sogna
 Di spigolar sovente la villana;
 Livide insin là dove appar vergogna,
 Eran l'ombre dolenti nella ghiaccia, 35
 Mettendo i denti in nota di cicogna.
 Ognuna in giù tenea volta la faccia:
 Da bocca 'l freddo, e dagli occhi 'l cuor tristo
 Tra lor testimonianza si procaccia.
 Quand'io ebbi d'intorno alquanto visto, 40
 Volsimi a' piedi; e vidi duo sì stretti,
 Che 'l pel del capo aveano insieme misto.
 Ditemi voi, che sì stringete i petti,

- Diss' io, chi siete? E quei piegaro i colli;
E poi ch'ebber li visi a me eretti, 45
Gli occhi lor, ch'eran pria pur dentro molli,
Gocciâr su per le labbra: e'l gielo strinse
Le lacrime tra essi, e riserrolli.
Legno con legno spranga mai non cinse
Forte così: ond'ei, come duo becchi, 50
Cozzaro insieme: tant'ira gli vinse.
Ed un, ch'avea perduti ambo gli orecchi
Per la freddura, pur col viso in giue,
Disse: Perchè cotanto in noi ti specchi?
Se vuoi saper chi son cotesti due, 55
La valle, onde Bisenzio si dichina,
Del padre loro Alberto e di lor fue.
D'un corpo usciro: e tutta la Caina
Potrai cercare; e non troverai ombra
Degna più d'esser fitta in gelatina; 60
Non quegli a cui fu rotto il petto e l'ombra
Con esso un colpo, per la man d'Artù;
Non Focaccia; non questi che m'ingombra
Col capo sì, ch'i' non veggì' oltre più;
E fu nomato Sassol Mascheroni: 65
Se tosko se', ben dèi saper chi e' fu.
E perchè non mi metti in più sermoni,
Sappi ch'io sono il Camicion de' Pazzi;
Ed aspetto Carlin, che mi scagioni.
Poscia vid'io mille visi cagnazzi 70
Fatti per freddo; onde mi vien ribrezzo,
E verrà sempre, de' gelati guazzi.
E mentre che andavamo invêr lo mezzo,
Al quale ogni gravezza si raguna,
Ed io tremava nell'eterno rezzo; 75
Se voler fu, o destino, o fortuna,
Non so; ma passeggiando tra le teste,
Forte percossi 'l piè nel viso ad una.
Piangendo mi sgridò: Perchè mi peste?
Se tu non vieni a crescer la vendetta 80
Di Montaperti, perchè mi moleste

Ed io: Maestro mio, or qui m'aspetta,
Sì ch'io m'esca d'un dubbio per costui:
Poi mi farai, quantunque vorrai, fretta.
Lo Duca stette; ed io dissi a colui, 85
Che bestemmiava duramente ancora:
Qual se' tu, che così rampogni altrui?
Or tu chi se', che vai per l'Antenora
Percotendo, rispose, altrui le gote,
Sì che, se vivo fossi, troppo fora? 90
Vivo son io; e caro esser ti puote,
Fu mia risposta, se domandi fama,
Ch'io metta 'l nome tuo tra l'altre note.
Ed egli a me: Del contrario ho io brama:
Lèvati quinci, e non mi dar più lagna; 95
Chè mal sai lusingar per questa lama.
Allor lo presi per la cuticagna,
Ei dissi: E' converrà che tu ti nomi,
O che capel qui su non ti rimagna.
Ond'egli a me: Perchè tu mi dischiomi, 100
Nè ti dirò ch'io sia, nè mostrerolti,
Se mille fiate in sul capo mi tomi.
Io aveva già i capelli in mano avvolti,
E tratti glien avea più d'una ciocca,
Latrando lui con gli occhi in giù raccolti; 105
Quando un altro gridò: Che hai tu, Bocca?
Non ti basta sonar con le mascelle,
Se tu non latrì? qual diavol ti tocca?
Omai, diss'io, non vo' che più favelle,
Malvagio traditor; ch'alla tua onta 110
Io porterò di te vere novelle.
Va' via, rispose; e ciò, che tu vuoi, conta:
Ma non tacer, se tu di qua entr'eschi,
Di quel ch'ebbe or così la lingua pronta.
Ei piange qui l'argento de' Franceschi: 115
Io vidi, potrai dir, quel da Duera
Là dove i peccatori stanno freschi.
Se fossi dimandato altri chi v'era,
Tu hai dallato quel di Beccheria,

Di cui segò Fiorenza la gorgiera. 120
 Gianni del Soldanier credo che sia
 Più là con Ganellone e Tebaldello,
 Ch' aprì Faenza, quando si dormia.
 Noi eravam partiti già da ello,
 Ch' io vidi duo ghiacciati in una buca, 125
 Sì che l' un capo all' altro era cappello:
 E come 'l pan per fame si manduca,
 Così 'l sopran gli denti all' altro pose,
 Là 've 'l cervel s' aggiunge con la nuca.
 Non altrimenti Tidèo sì rose 130
 Le tempie a Menalippo per disdegno,
 Che quei faceva 'l teschio e l' altre cose.
 O tu, che mostri per sì bestial segno
 Odio sovra colui che tu ti mangi,
 Dimmi 'l perchè, diss' io, per tal convegno; 135
 Che se tu a ragion di lui ti piangi,
 Sappiendo chi voi siete e la sua pecca,
 Nel mondo suso ancor io te ne cangi,
 Se quella, con ch' io parlo, non si secca.

CANTO TRIGESIMOTERZO.

La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
 Quel peccator, forbendola a' capelli
 Del capo, ch' egli avea dietro guasto.
 Poi cominciò: Tu vuoi ch' io rinnovelli
 Disperato dolor che 'l cuor mi preme, 5
 Già pur pensando, pria ch' io ne favelli.
 Ma se le mie parole esser den seme,
 Che frutti infamia al traditor ch' io rodo,
 Parlare e lagrimar mi vedra' insieme.
 Io non so chi tu sie, nè per che modo 10
 Venuto se' quaggiù; ma fiorentino
 Mi sembri veramente quand' io t' odo.

Tu dèi saper ch' io fui 'l conte Ugolino,
E questi l' arcivescovo Ruggieri.
Or ti dirò perch' i son tal vicino. 15
Che per l' effetto de' suoi ma' pensieri,
Fidandomi di lui, io fossi preso
E poscia morto, dir non è mestieri.
Però quel che non puoi avere inteso,
Cioè, come la morte mia fu cruda, 20
Udirai; e saprai se m' ha offeso.
Breve pertugio dentro dalla muda,
La qual per me ha 'l titol della fame,
E 'n che conviene ancor ch' altri si chiuda,
M' avea mostrato per lo suo forame 25
Più lune già; quand' io feci 'l mal sonno,
Che del futuro mi squarciò 'l velame.
Questi pareva a me maestro e donno,
Cacciando 'l lupo e i lupicini al monte,
Per che i Pisan veder Lucca non ponno. 30
Con cagne magre, studiose e conte,
Gualandi con Sismondi e con Lanfranchi
S' avea messi dinanzi dalla fronte.
In picciol corso mi pareano stanchi
Lo padre e i figli; e con l' agute sane 35
Mi pareo lor veder fender li fianchi.
Quando fui desto innanzi la dimane,
Pianger senti' fra 'l sonno i miei figliuoli,
Ch' erano meco, e dimandar del pane.
Ben sei crudel, se tu già non ti duoli, 40
Pensando ciò, che 'l mio cor s' annunziava;
E se non piangi, di che pianger suoli?
Già eran desti; e l' ora s' appressava
Che 'l cibo ne soleva essere addotto,
E per suo sogno ciascun dubitava; 45
Ed io senti' chiovar l' uscio di sotto
All' orribile torre; ond' io guardai
Nel viso a' miei figliuoi senza far motto.
Io non piangeva; sì dentro impietrai.
Piangevan elli; ed Anselmuccio mio 50

Disse: Tu guardi sì, padre: che hai?
 Perciò non lacrimai, nè rispos' io
 Tutto quel giorno, nè la notte appresso,
 Infìn che l' altro Sol nel mondo uscìo.
 Com' un poco di raggio si fu messo 55
 Nel doloroso carcere, ed io scorsi
 Per quattro visi lo mio aspetto stesso;
 Ambo le mani per dolor mi morsi.
 E quei, pensando ch' io 'l fessi per voglia
 Di manicar, di subito levòrsi, 60
 E disser: Padre, assai ci fia men doglia,
 Se tu mangi di noi: tu ne vestisti
 Queste misere carni, e tu ne spoglia.
 Quetaimi allor, per non fargli più tristi:
 Quel dì e l' altro stemmo tutti muti. 65
 Ahi dura terra, perchè non t' apristi?
 Posciachè fummo al quarto dì venuti,
 Gaddo mi si gettò disteso a' piedi,
 Dicendo: Padre mio, chè non m' aiuti?
 Quivi morì. E come tu me vedi, 70
 Vid' io li tre cascar ad uno ad uno
 Tra 'l quinto dì e 'l sesto: ond' io mi diedi
 Già cieco a brancolar sovra ciascuno,
 E tre dì gli chiamai, poich' e' fur morti:
 Poscia, più che il dolor, potè il digiuno. 75
 Quand' ebbe detto ciò, con gli occhi torti
 Riprese 'l teschio misero co' denti,
 Che furo all'osso, come d' un can, forti.
 Ahi Pisa, vituperio delle genti
 Del bel paese là dove il sì suona; 80
 Poichè i vicini a te punir son lenti,
 Muovansi la Capraia e la Gorgona,
 E faccian siepe ad Arno in su la foce,
 Sì ch' egli annieghi in te ogni persona.
 Chè se 'l conte Ugolino aveva voce 85
 D' aver tradita te delle castella,
 Non dovei tu i figliuoi porre a tal croce.
 Innocenti facea l' età novella,

Novella Tebe!, Uguccione e'l Brigata,
 E gli altri duo che 'l canto suso appella. 90
 Noi passamm' oltre, dove la gelata
 Ravidamente un' altra gente fascia,
 Non volta in giù, ma tutta riversata.
 Lo pianto stesso lì pianger non lascia;
 E' l duol, che truova 'n su gli occhi rintoppo, 95
 Si volve in entro a far crescer l' ambascia:
 Chè le lagrime prime fanno groppo,
 E, sì come visiere di cristallo,
 Riempion, sotto 'l ciglio, tutto il coppo.
 Ed avvegna che, sì come d' un callo, 100
 Per la freddura ciascun sentimento
 Cessato avesse del mio viso stallo,
 Già mi pareva sentire alquanto vento;
 Per ch'io: Maestro mio, questo chi muove?
 Non è quaggiuso ogni vapore spento? 105
 Ond' egli a me: Avaccio sarai dove
 Di ciò ti farà l'occhio la risposta,
 Veggendo la cagion, che 'l fiato piove.
 Ed un de' tristi della fredda crosta
 Gridò a noi: O anime crudeli 110
 Tanto, che data v' è l' ultima posta,
 Levatemi dal viso i duri veli,
 Sì ch'io sfoghi 'l dolor, che 'l cor m' impregna,
 Un poco, pria che 'l pianto si raggeli.
 Per ch'io a lui: Se vuoi ch'io ti sovvegna, 115
 Dimmi chi se'; e s'io non ti disbrigo,
 Al fondo della ghiaccia ir mi convegna.
 Rispose adunque: Io son frate Alberigo;
 Io son quel dalle frutta del mal orto,
 Che qui riprendo dattero per figo. 120
 Oh, dissi lui, or se' tu ancor morto?
 Ed egli a me: Come il mio corpo stea
 Nel mondo su, nulla scienza porto.
 Cotal vantaggio ha questa Tolomea,
 Che spesse volte l' anima ci cade 125
 Innanzi ch' Atropòs mossa le dea.

E perchè tu più volentier mi rade
 L'invetriate lagrime dal volto,
 Sappi che tosto che l'anima trade,
 Come fec'io, lo corpo suo l'è tolto 130
 Da un dimonio, che poscia il governa,
 Mentre che'l tempo suo tutto sia vòlto.
 Ella ruina in sì fatta cisterna:
 E forse pare ancor lo corpo suso
 Dell'ombra, che di qua dietro mi verna. 135
 Tu'l dèi saper, se tu vien pur mo giuso.
 Egli è ser Branca d'Oria; e son più anni
 Poscia passati ch'ei fu sì racchiuso.
 Io credo, dissi lui, che tu m'inganni;
 Chè Branca d'Oria non morì unquanche, 140
 E mangia e bee e dorme e veste panni.
 Nel fosso su, diss'ei, di Malebranche,
 Là dove bolle la tenace pece,
 Non era giunto ancora Michel Zanche,
 Che quegli lasciò un diavol in sua vece 145
 Nel corpo suo, e d'un suo prossimano,
 Che'l tradimento insieme con lui fece.
 Ma distendi oramai in qua la mano;
 Aprimi gli occhi. Ed io non glieli apersi;
 E cortesia fu lui esser villano. 150
 Ahi Genovesi, uomini diversi
 D'ogni costume, e pien d'ogni magagna,
 Perchè non siete voi del mondo spersi?
 Chè col peggiore spirto di Romagna
 Trovai un tal di voi, che per sua opra 155
 In anima in Cocito già si bagna,
 Ed in corpo par vivo ancor di sopra.

CANTO TRIGESIMOQUARTO.

Vexilla regis prodeunt Inferni

Verso di noi : però dinanzi mira,
Disse 'l Maestro mio, se tu 'l discerni.
Come quando una grossa nebbia spira,
O quando l' emisperio nostro annotta, 5
Par da lungi un mulin, che il vento gira;
Veder mi parve un tal dificio allotta :
Poi, per lo vento, mi ristrinsi retro
Al Duca mio ; chè non v' era altra grotta.
Già era (e con paura il metto in metro) 10
Là, dove l' ombre tutte eran coverte,
E trasparen come festuca in vetro.
Altre stanno a giacere, altre stanno erte,
Quella col capo, e quella con le piante ;
Altra, com' arco, il volto a' piedi inverta. 15
Quando noi fummo fatti tanto avanti,
Ch' al mio Maestro piacque di mostrarmi
La creatura ch' ebbe il bel sembiante,
Dinanzi mi si tolse, e fe ristarmi ;
Ecco Dite, dicendo, ed ecco il loco, 20
Ove convien che di fortezza t' armi.
Com' io divenni allor gelato e fioco,
Nol domandar, lettor ; ch' io non lo scrivo,
Però ch' ogni parlar sarebbe poco.
Io non morì, e non rimasi vivo : 25
Pensa oramai per te, s' hai fior d' ingegno,
Qual io divenni, d' uno e d' altro privo.
L' imperador del doloroso regno
Da mezzo 'l petto uscì fuor della ghiaccia :
E più con un gigante io mi convegno, 30
Che i giganti non fan con le sue braccia.
Vedi oggimai quant' esser dee quel tutto,
Ch' a così fatta parte si confaccia.

S' ei fu sì bel com'egli è ora brutto,
 E contra'l suo Fattore alzò le ciglia, 35
 Ben dee da lui procedere ogni lutto.
 Oh quanto parve a me gran meraviglia,
 Quando vidi tre facce alla sua testa!
 L'una dinanzi, e quella era vermiglia:
 Dell'altre due, che s'aggiungeano a questa 40
 Sovresso il mezzo di ciascuna spalla,
 E si giungeano al sommo della cresta,
 La destra mi pareva tra bianca e gialla;
 La sinistra a vedere era tal, quali
 Vengon di là, ove'l Nilo s'avvala. 45
 Sotto ciascuna uscivan duo grand'ali,
 Quanto si conveniva a tant'uccello:
 Vele di mar non vid'io mai cotali.
 Non avean penne, ma di vipistrello
 Era lor modo; e quelle svolazzava, 50
 Sì che tre venti si movean da ello.
 Quindi Cocito tutto s'aggelava:
 Con sei occhi piangeva, e per tre menti
 Gocciava'l pianto e sanguinosa bava.
 Da ogni bocca dirompea co' denti 55
 Un peccatore, a guisa di maciulla;
 Sì che tre ne faceva così dolenti.
 A quel dinanzi il mordere era nulla
 Verso'l graffiar, chè tal volta la schiena
 Rimanea della pelle tutta brulla. 60
 Quell'anima lassù, c'ha maggior pena,
 Disse'l Maestro, è Giuda Scariotto,
 Che'l capo ha dentro, e fuor le gambe mena.
 Degli altri duo, c'hanno'l capo di sotto,
 Quei che pende dal nero ceffo, è Bruto; 65
 Vedi come si storce, e non fa motto:
 E l'altro è Cassio, che par sì membruto.
 Ma la notte risurge; ed oramai
 È da partir, chè tutto avem veduto.
 Com'a lui piacque, il collo gli avvinghiai: 70
 Ed ei prese di tempo e luogo poste:

E quando l' ale furo aperte assai,
 Appigliò sè alle vellute coste :
 Di vello in vello giù discese poscia
 Tra'l folto pelo e le gelate croste. 75
 Quando noi fummo là, dove la coscia
 Si volge appunto in sul grosso dell' anche,
 Lo Duco con fatica e con angoscia
 Volse la testa ov' egli avea le zanche ;
 Ed aggrappossi al pel, come uom che sale, 80
 Sì che in Inferno io credea tornar anche.
 Attienti ben : chè per cotali scale,
 Disse 'l Maestro ansando com' uom lasso,
 Conviensi dipartir da tanto male.
 Poi uscì fuor per lo foro d' un sasso, 85
 E pose me in su l' orlo a sedere,
 Appresso porse a me l' accorto passo.
 Io levai gli occhi, e credetti vedere
 Lucifero com' io l' avea lasciato ;
 E vidigli le gambe in su tenere. 90
 E s' io divenni allora travagliato,
 La gente grossa il pensi, che non vede
 Qual è quel punto ch' io avea passato.
 Lévatì su, disse 'l Maestro, in piede :
 La via è lunga, e 'l cammino è malvagio ; 95
 E già il Sole a mezza terza riede.
 Non era camminata di palagio,
 Là 'v' eravam ; ma natural burella,
 Ch' avea mal suolo, e di lume disagio.
 Prima ch' io dell' abisso mi divella, 100
 Maestro mio, diss' io quando fui dritto,
 A trarmi d' erro un poco mi favella.
 Ov' è la ghiaccia ? e questi com' è fitto
 Sì sottosopra ? e come in sì poc' ora
 Da sera a mane ha fatto il Sol tragitto ? 105
 Ed egli a me : Tu immagini ancora
 D' esser di là dal centro, ov' io m' appresi
 Al pel del vermo reo che 'l mondo fóra.
 Di là fosti cotanto, quant' io scesi :

Quando mi volsi, tu passasti il punto, 110
Al qual si traggon d'ogni parte i pesi:
E se' or sotto l'emisperio giunto,
Ch'è opposto a quel, che la gran secca
Coverchia, e sotto'l cui colmo consunto
Fu l'Uom che nacque e visse senza pecca. 115
Tu hai li piedi in su picciolà spera,
Che l'altra faccia fa della Giudecca.
Qui è da man, quando di là è sera:
E questi, che ne fe scala col pelo,
Fitt'è ancora, sì come prim'era. 120
Da questa parte cadde giù dal cielo;
E la terra, che pria di qua si sporse,
Per paura di lui fe del mar velo,
E venne all'emisperio nostro: e forse
Per fuggir lui, lasciò qui il luogo voto 125
Quella ch'appar di qua, e su ricorse.
Luogo è laggiù da Belzebù rimoto
Tanto, quanto la tomba si distende,
Che non per vista, ma per suono è noto
D'un ruscelletto, che quivi discende 130
Per la buca d'un sasso, ch'egli ha roso
Col corso ch'egli avvolge; e poco pende.
Lo Duca ed io per quel cammino ascoso
Entrammo, per tornar nel chiaro mondo;
E senza cura aver d'alcun riposo 135
Salimmo su, ei primo ed io secondo,
Tanto ch'io vidi delle cose belle,
Chè porta'l ciel, per un pertugio tondo:
E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle.

NOTES.

CANTO I.

ARGUMENT.

It is the night before Good Friday, March 25, A.D. 1300. Dante loses his way in a dark wood, so tangled and dense, that the very remembrance of it is little less than death. After a night of misery he at length reaches the foot of a Mount, whose shoulders are already clothed with the light of the rising sun, and thereupon in the lake of his heart the storm of terror is calmed. With the 'firm foot ever lower' he attempts to ascend the hill, but a Leopard with a spotted skin, light and exceeding nimble, impedes his way so persistently that he often hesitates, and turns to go back. Nevertheless the sweet season of early morn, and the very beauty of the beast, give him hope. But suddenly a lion approaches 'with head erect, and furious ravening, so that the air trembled at him.' After the Lion comes a She-Wolf 'laden with all hungerings in her leanness,' and by terror of her aspect he is driven back little by little into the dark valley 'where the sun is silent.'

Here meets him one who seems weak-voiced through long silence. It is the poet Virgil, who tells him that he must choose another path if he will escape from that wild place, because the She-Wolf suffers not men to pass by her way, nor shall she be destroyed until the Greyhound comes who shall cause her to die with pain. Dante joyfully recognises his 'master and author,' who offers to conduct him thence through an eternal place, where he shall hear the hopeless shrieks of the lost, and to the mount of Purgatory, and promises that there shall meet them a spirit, who shall lead him higher to the realms of Paradise.

Such is the brief outline of the first canto, which stands as a preface to the whole of the Divine Comedy, and adds a superfluous number to the cantos of the Inferno. With it ends the action of the day, during the whole of which the poet describes himself as wandering in hopeless error, or vainly striving to ascend the Holy Hill. It is already evening when Virgil meets him, for, as they move forward on their way towards the gate of Hell, 'the day was departing, and the brown air relieving from their toils the animals that are on earth.'

Many volumes have been written on the first canto, and the allegory which it contains. It will be impossible to discuss the question at length; so I shall state briefly some common opinions. That it has a deep meaning, and that it must not be arbitrarily interpreted according to the fancy of every reader, but that it is 'polysensous,' that it contains a truth having various aspects, will have been made evident in the introductory chapter on 'The Origins of the Poem.'

Wandering in a dark wood is a natural metaphor to express blind error—moral, intellectual, or of any kind that can be imagined. Now about the year 1300, in what maze of error was it possible that Dante found himself? The answer to this will give us the *personal* interpretation: and, although the poet has himself told us that the subject of the poem is 'man,' and therefore there is a general application intended, yet it will be best to limit ourselves to the personal view.

Firstly, the wood cannot mean Exile. Dante was not exiled in 1300. Farinata prophesies the poet's banishment in Canto X. If Boccaccio's story be true the first canto was written before that banishment. Moreover this meaning is entirely contrary to the spirit of the whole poem, and unworthy of Dante.

In 1300 Dante was Prior, and found himself in a difficult and responsible position in the midst of the raging factions of Florence. This blinding and intricate maze of discords he likens to a dark tangled wood, whence he would fain escape to the Holy Mount, or political concord and settled government. This concord cannot be accomplished except by the strong hand of Imperialism, that is, by the triumph of the Ghibelin cause. Having stated this political explanation I will leave it to accommodate itself to the various points.

But again: about the year 1300 Dante found himself in the maze of intellectual error. He had, as has been related in his Life, betaken himself for consolation after his lady's death to philosophy, and had abandoned the 'straight path' leading to the knowledge of God¹.

¹ See especially Witte's *Dante-Forschungen*, p. 59 foll. S. Aug. Op. v. 807.

This he had done when 'full of sleep'—for, according to S. Augustine (whom Dante studied), 'somnus animae est oblivisci Deum.'

Lastly, he had proved faithless for a time to the memory of his beloved Beatrice. How far his sensitive nature may have intensified the wrongs that he committed we cannot tell: but many expressions of his lead to the supposition that such intense grief, such deep repentance, could not have been felt for merely trivial errors. The wonderful description of the meeting of Beatrice and Dante in Purgatory, her reproaches, and his humiliation, leave no room for doubt. If external evidence be required, we have it in a sonnet addressed to Dante by Guido Cavalcanti¹, in which he laments that his friend had fallen from virtue, and speaks of the 'baseness of his mind,' and his 'abject life.'

The Holy Hill, in its moral signification, means spiritual peace and happiness. The sunlight is God's favour.

Bearing these three aspects in mind, the political, the intellectual, and the moral (the last two of which are often nearly indistinguishable), let us see what explanations are given of the other metaphors.

The Leopard may signify Florence, Envy, or base desires². Dante more than once mentions 'pride, envy, and avarice,' as three great sins (Inf. vi. 74; xv. 68); and he probably signifies these three sins by the three beasts. Now Florence is said to be 'piena d'invidia' (vi. 49) and 'il nido di malizia.' Again, it seems possible, from the description of the spotted and gay skin, the season of youth, and the lightness and swiftness of the beast, that sensuality may have been intended. This seems confirmed by the passage in Canto XVI. where the cord with which he had hoped to capture the animal evidently signifies vigilance or self-mortification.

The Lion is Pride, and France—and more especially King Philip and Charles de Valois³.

The lean She-Wolf is Avarice, or the Papal power, and consequently the Guelph party. This last explanation is confirmed by the fact that the Guelphs (a form of 'Welf' or 'Wolf') are in other places called 'lupi,' as in Purg. xiv. 51, Par. xxv. 6: cp. Inf. xxxiii. 29, as 'orsa'

¹ Rosetti's *Early Italian Poets*, p. 358. Some have opposed to this moral explanation the fact that Dante allows himself to be called 'buona anima' in v. 127. But see the note. The 'poco più è morte' of line 7 seems to refer to a vicious state, as does 'near his last evening through his folly' of Purg. i. 58.

² 'Invidia' seems to comprise covetous and sensual desires.

³ See Par. vi. 108.

is used in xix. 70 with reference to the Orsini family. That it means the temporal power of the Popes is evident from line 100, which compare with xix. 108; and notice that the word 'avarizia' is in the last passage (l. 104) used of the Popes.

What is intended by the Greyhound is plainly a deliverer from the papal and Guelph power. But who this deliverer is—or whether indeed any one individual is meant—seems doubtful. I fancy that it is Ugucione, the great Ghibelin leader. See the note on the passage. But it is still more difficult to say what moral quality is symbolised by this animal. Some think that only a political explanation can be admitted. But this is not satisfactory. I cannot but believe that Dante meant it to represent also some great quality of mind or soul especially opposed to avarice.

Virgil was the singer of Imperial Rome, and is Dante's author and guide towards political truth, which is centred in monarchy. Still more he personifies *human Knowledge*. (See on ix. 61, x. 4.) Beatrice, the 'spirit more worthy' than Virgil to conduct Dante to Paradise, is not only Beatrice herself, but represents *Wisdom*¹. It will be noticed that Virgil, that is, Knowledge, succours Dante not by opposing the beasts, for he confesses that the she-wolf allows no one to pass by her way alive, but by leading him by another path. In this we seem to have an intimation that the political allegory is henceforth abandoned. Further, it is to be observed that Divine Pity and Grace (the gentile donna and Lucia of Canto II) incite Beatrice, that is, Wisdom, to persuade Virgil, that is, Knowledge, to rescue the poet from his state of error.

Line 1. 'In midway of the road of our life.' The exact date was Thursday night, the 24th March, 1300. The action of the poem begins on Good Friday morning, which, according to the old calendar, was the first day of 1301; see xxi. 112, and for an instance of the old reckoning 'ab incarnatione,' Par. xvi. 44: 'da 'quel dì che fu detto Ave' (from that day when Ave was uttered). In 1300 Dante was thirty-five years of age, and was therefore exactly at the midway of the threescore years and ten allotted to the life of man by the Psalmist. In the Convito (iv. 23) our life is likened to an arch, whose highest point ('colmo,' xix. 128) is for a strong man at the thirty-fifth year. The whole of this

¹ Thus Tennyson says of knowledge:

'For she is earthly, of the mind,
But wisdom heavenly, of the soul.'

first day (Friday) is occupied with Dante's wanderings, and it is not till the evening that he meets and follows Virgil.

1. 2. **Selva**: for the meaning see Argument. Some fancy that the scene of the first two cantos is by lake Avernus and the Cumæan Sibyl's cave, where Homer and Virgil place the entrance to Hades. Others, with more reason, think that the poet represents himself wandering in the deserts near Jerusalem. This seems evident from the fact that Lucifer, who is at the bottom of the pit of Hell, is immediately under the sacred city: see on 108 foll. - **Per**, in: when used of position 'per' usually contains the idea of extension, 'throughout.' Cp. x. 7; xiii. 106; xxxii. 96.

1. 3. **Che**, where. The word is often used loosely for 'in che,' or 'in cui.' Cp. l. 12. Others translate 'because,' and read 'chè.'

Smarrirsi, to lose oneself: used also of mental bewilderment. See on v. 72, and for derivation viii. 22.

1. 4. 'Ah, how terrible a thing it is to tell what was this wild wood.' **Qual** does not mean 'what the wood represents,' namely, political discord and personal error, but 'how dark and tangled a wood it was.' Compare with *selva selvaggia* Virgil's 'cavae cavernae,' and Ovid's 'nemorosae silvae.' But *selvaggio* is not merely 'woody,' but 'wild': cp. xiii. 8; and 'cammin silvestro,' xxi. 84. Spenser imitates the expression in his 'selvage wood.' **Forte** is 'dense' or 'stubborn.' The word is often applied to a difficult road or undertaking: *Purg.* ii. 65; see on xvii. 95.

1. 6. 'That renews terror in the thought,' and which therefore would be still more terrible to describe (cp. xxxiii. 6)—a task which, as he says, 'made him lean for many years.' This explains 'cosa dura,' which is not merely difficult, but 'terrible.' See iii. 12; xxxii. 14. Notice the intense *reality* that Dante sometimes introduces by appealing to his present feelings. Cp. iii. 131; viii. 60, 95; xxxii. 72.

1. 7. **Amara**. That this does not grammatically agree with 'selva,' but with 'paura' or 'cosa,' is evident from the present tense 'è.' It may be an emphatic repetition of 'dura': and certainly Dante often dwells on the fact that language fails him in the terrible undertaking of describing the scenes of Hell. It seems more natural, however, to connect it with 'paura.' Cp. xxxi. 110, where a very similar expression is used: see also xxxiv. 25. Giuliani quotes 'mors dicta quod amara sit,' *Isid.* *Ety.* xi. 2—a passage that Dante may possibly have had in mind.

1. 8. **Ma**. Though it is such a grievous task, he feels compelled to relate all: 'Necessity leads him and not pleasure' (xii. 87). Translate—'But that I may treat of the good that I found there, I will speak of the other things that I there discerned.' This 'good' is not merely his

deliverance from the beasts by Virgil, for it is evident (ll. 120, 134) that he had already in view the 'prosperous ending' of his Comedy. As love is impossible without justice (iii. 6) so must he treat of Hell and Purgatory before describing Paradise. Cp. on iii. 18. See also the subject fully treated in Ozanam's '*Dante, et la philosophie catholique au xiii^{me} siècle*,' chaps. ii. iii. iv. **Scorto**, from '*scorgere*,' which means to 'escort' or to 'perceive,' and is connected with Lat. '*cohors*,' though it is difficult to see whence the second meaning is derived. Cp. vii. 93. For *vi* see on v. 13.

ll. 11, 12. 'So full of sleep was I at that moment when I abandoned the true way.' See explanation of allegory p. 61. **In su** is used of movement or direction, 'upward,' 'upon' (x. 33), and also of position, 'upon' (viii. 82). **Che**: see on l. 3.

l. 13. **giunto**, arrived. The verb '*giungere*' or '*giugnere*' (v. 3, note) is used by Dante (1) actively, like the Latin '*jungere*,' as '*quattro cerchi giunge con tre croci*,' Par. i. 30; and passively, '*è giunta la spada col pastorale*,' Purg. xvi. 101: (2) in the active form, meaning 'to reach' or 'meet,' as '*giungendo per cammin gente non nota*' (meeting on the road people unknown), Purg. xxiii. 17, cp. l. 55; but with this meaning it is generally a neuter verb, as '*al mal giunse il empiastro*' (the plaster came to the sore), xxiv. 18. The passive is however found: '*tu se' giunto*,' xxii. 126. From (2) comes the expression '*sono giunto*' (as '*sono andato*,' etc.), 'I am arrived.' Speaking of the change of meaning found in the case of many Latin words used in the semi-Italianised language of early times, Fauriel mentions '*jungere*,' and says, 'Or, ce même verbe figure déjà avec cette même signification (d'arriver) dans les documents du viii^e siècle appartenant à la Toscane. Il en existe un où je trouve cette expression: *conjungere ad basilica*, arriver à la basilique. Il y en a un autre où je lis: *inibi conjunxisse*, être arrivé là.' (ii. p. 426.)

l. 15. **di paura...compunto**, pierced...with terror. The same construction is used x. 109, xxii. 124. For this rhyme '*punto...compunto*' see on iii. 93.

ll. 16-18. 'I looked upward and saw its shoulders clothed already with the rays of the planet which leads others straight on every road.' The contrast between the 'sweet light' of the sun (x. 69) and the darkness of Hell is very noticeable throughout the Inferno. According to the Ptolemaic system the Sun was a planet. **Altrui** (the oblique form of '*altri*') means 'men,' as in l. 95: see on iii. 95. For the allegorical meaning of the hill and the sun see p. 61.

l. 19. **Queto**, quieto, or cheto (ix. 87) are all forms of the Lat. '*quietus*.'

l. 20. **lago del cuore**. Dante's metaphors, as his allegories, build

their ideal grandeur on a sound foundation of reality, in accordance with his own dictum: 'grande vergogna sarebbe a colui che rimasse cosa sotto veste di figura o di colore rettorico, e poi domandato non sapesse dinudare le sue parole da cotal vesta, in guisa che avessero verace intendimento' (Vita N. xxv). The heart was considered in his day to be a cistern of standing blood. Cp. 'Che nel lago del cuore l'anime inquietano' (Redi's *Ditirambo*, quoted by Lombardi). Longfellow explains the poetic idea: 'the deep mountain tarn of his heart, dark with its own depth and the shadows hanging over it.'

1. 21. **pièta** is a poetic form of 'pietà,' used by Dante with the meaning of 'misery,' as 'Non odi tu la pièta del suo pianto?' (ii. 106); and 'Or discendiamo omai a maggior pièta' (vii. 97). 'Pietà' (also 'pietade,' 'pietate,' v. 140) means 'pity' or 'piety' (Lat. 'pietas'). 'Pièta' is used once probably with the last signification (xxvi. 94), and in vi. 2, 'Dinanzi alla pietà de' duo cognati,' we find 'pietà' evidently meaning 'misery.'

1. 22. **lena affannata**, spent breath. 'Lena' is by metathesis from 'anhele,' connected with Lat 'anhelare'; the longer form 'alena' is found in more ancient writers. 'Affanno' is 'fatigue' or 'misery.' It is used of the torments of Hell in vi. 58. Cp. v. 80, 'anime affannate.' The oldest forms of the word 'affanno' are 'afan' and 'ahan,' which are found in some of the earliest poems of the Romance language, and which mean 'pain': hence O. Fr. 'ahan,' manual toil, and 'ahaner,' to toil, or to be short of breath. Cp. on xxxiii. 96.

1. 24. **guata**, gazes. The two words 'guardare' (l. 16) and 'guatare,' though very similar in meaning, are probably quite distinct, the former being the Germ. 'warten,' and the latter 'wachen.' Cp. with this passage xxi. 25 foll.

1. 26. **lo passo**, the pass, i. e. the valley (l. 14). See on ix. 80. This valley of death, 'which no one ever left alive,' (cp. l. 7) is in its moral signification well illustrated by what Dante says in his *Convito*: 'To live is to use reason, and to abandon the use of reason is to abandon human existence, and thus to be dead.' Cp. on iii. 18, and *De Monarchiâ*, i. 5. But the fact that he had passed to regions where no 'living soul' had ever been (except Christ, and a few others) is constantly brought before our notice. See iii. 88, x. 23, and viii. 84.

1. 28. **Poi, riposato**. A common reading is 'poi ch'hei posato' or 'come ei posato,' in which case 'hei' or 'ei' must stand for 'ebbi.' Others omit 'un poco' and read 'poich'ebbi riposato.' The present reading seems preferable, for there seems to be little authority for 'ei.' Translate—'Then when I had rested awhile my wearied body.'

1. 30. 'So that the firm foot always was the lower.' This line has

raised a storm of discussion. The following are some of the various explanations:—

1. It is evident from l. 61 that Dante had begun to ascend the hill, and when walking uphill a man rests his weight longest on the lower foot. (The objection to this is that it is not true, and, though it is possible, it is not at all probable that Dante used such an inaccurate expression. A man *may* ascend a hill thus, but he is then proceeding as explained in 3.)

2. As Dante elsewhere (xxiii. 68, xix. 41) uses 'mano manca' and 'mano stanca,' i. e. 'the weary hand,' for the left hand, so here he uses 'piè fermo' for the right foot, and means that he was ascending the slope slantwise and to the right, in which case he would necessarily keep his right foot below the left.

3. He merely means that he was advancing with great timidity and circumspection, as a man walks on the dangerous slope of a mountain. (Cp. xii. 30, and xxiv. 32-33, where the process is fully represented.) A similar expression is used by Ariosto:

'Fa lunghi passi, e sempre in quel di dietro
Tutto si ferma, e l'altro par che muova
A guisa che di dar tema nel vetro,
Non che 'l terreno abbia a calcar, ma l'uova.'

The 'moral' explanations given by Pietro di Dante, Benvenuto, and others, and lately repeated with his usual empty assertion by Giuliani, are not worth consideration.

l. 31. *erta*, slope: 'Erto' or 'eretto' is the Lat. 'erectus.' Cp. 'dritto' from 'directus.'

l. 32. *lonza* is properly a lynx, an animal that Dante seems to have confounded with a panther or leopard, for he speaks here and in xvi. 108 of its spotted skin. For the meaning of this beast, and of the lion and wolf, see p. 61.

l. 33. 'Which was covered with spotted hair.' The word 'pelo' (Lat. pilus) must not be confounded with 'pelle' (Lat. pellis) in l. 42, although Lonf, Carlyle and Cary translate both words by 'skin.'

l. 35. *Anzi* is the Lat. 'ante,' used as a preposition (viii. 33, etc.), and also as a conjunction, meaning 'before all things' or 'nay rather.' Translate—'Nay, it so obstructed my path, that I had often turned to go back.'

l. 37. 'The time was at the beginning of the morning.' For *da* see xxii. 46, note: cp. 'da prima,' l. 40.

l. 38. *quella stelle*. The sun was in Aries (Purg. viii. 135). According to ancient philosophers and poets, and also Christian Fathers, the world was created in spring. As we have said, the 25th March was the first day of the new year. *Amor divino* is the eternal spirit of love which

first harmonised chaos into being. 'Il primo Amore' in iii. 6 stands for the same divine influence. See quotations there. Compare the last line of the Paradiso, 'L' Amor che muove il Sole e l' altre stelle.' It is noticeable that all three cantiche end with the word 'stelle.' Euripides ends many of his plays, in like manner, with the same line: but Dante's 'stelle' have a lofty meaning, and are thus used for no mere artistic effect. See on xxxiv. 139.

ll. 41-42. 'So that the hour of the time, and the sweet season were to me a reason for hoping well of that beast with the spotted skin.' Some read 'la' instead of *alla*, and translate 'So that the gay skin of that beast, the hour, and the sweet season, were a reason of good hope.' Lombardi accepts 'la' but takes 'sperare la gaietta pelle' to mean 'to hope well of the gay skin'—an impossible construction. In xvi. 106 Dante says that he had a cord about him, 'with which he thought some time to catch the leopard.' This cord (like the girdle of the Franciscan Cordeliers) typifies vigilance, or that moral determination which is dependent on mere natural strength of character, and not on either human knowledge or divine wisdom (see on ix. 61, x. 4). The meaning of the present passage does not therefore seem to be 'the attractive aspect of vicious pleasure encouraged me,' but 'the sanguine season of youth inspired me with good, though perhaps vain, hope of overcoming that beast (moral and political instability) by my own strength and vigilance.'

l. 42. *Alla* is used like the French 'à,' ix. 36, xvi. 108. *Gaietto* is a diminutive form of 'gaio.' It is curious that in parts of England piebald animals are called 'gay.' Cp. 'jay,' Spanish 'gayo.' *Fera*, antique for 'fiera.'

ll. 44-46. *Desse*, imperf. sub. from 'dare.' *Paura* is the accusative. *Venesse* for 'venisse,' from an old infinitive 'venére.' (Fr.)

l. 48. 'So that it seemed that the air trembled at it.' For *ne* see v. 13. The lion is Pride, or the court of France: see p. 61.

l. 49. 'That seemed laden with all hungerings in her leanness.' *Brama* is said to be connected with the Greek *βρέμειν*, to roar. Cp. Grison 'bramar,' Sp. Provenc. 'bramar,' to desire, and O. H. Germ. 'breman,' French 'bramer,' to scream. The two meanings are interchanged in Latin; for instance Ennius uses 'latrare' for 'poscere.' (Diez.)

l. 51. *gramo*, sorrowful; Germ. 'gram.' The she-wolf signifies Avarice, or Papal Rome. In the Convito (iii. 12) Dante asks what endangers and destroys cities and countries more than the heaping together of riches.

l. 52. *porse*, from 'porgere,' brought on me. See on v. 108. *Tanto di gravezza*, i. e. 'tanta gravezza.'

ll. 53-54. *ch' uscita di sua vista*, that issued from her look, i. e.

that her aspect produced. *La speranza dell' altezza* means the hope of reaching the summit.

ll. 55-56. 'And as he who is eager to gain, and the time comes that makes him lose.' The construction is broken, unless we translate, and meets the time that... See on l. 13. For the form *giugne* see on v. 11; and for *quale*, viii. 22. *Face* for 'fa,' as x. 9, xxi. 111. This is a transition form from Latin 'facit.' Even as early as in the Catacomb inscriptions 'fece' is found for 'fecit.'

l. 57. *la bestia senza pace*, the restless, or insatiable, beast. Cp. l. 99.

ll. 59-60. 'Little by little drove me back thither where the sun is silent.' *A poco a poco*: cf. on xiii. 128. *Dove l' Sol tace*: see on v. 28.

'The sun to me is dark,
And silent as the moon
When she deserts the night
Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.' (Milton, S. Ag.)

l. 61. *ruinava*, was rushing down: cp. Lat. 'ruere' and 'ruina.' Tennyson uses the word similarly, 'Ruining along the illimitable inane'; and Milton, 'in hideous ruin.' Cp. xx. 35, 'ruinare a valle,' and xxxiii. 133. Others read 'rovinava,' which is a form of the same word.

l. 62. *mi si fu offerto*: cp. ix. 8, and Par. viii. 40, 'si furo offerti.' Notice (as in French) the mixture of middle and passive forms in the reflected verb: 's'offerse' is purely middle, while 'si fu offerto' is a mixed form. When 'si' is used with an active verb it naturally becomes the *direct* object of that verb: thus 'tenersi,' to restrain oneself (xxii. 112). When it is joined to a neuter verb it cannot be its object, but merely produces a middle-neuter meaning, as 'andarsi,' 'mi sono,' etc. Now in the simple tenses of an *active* verb, such as 'offrire,' the 'si' is used in the first manner, but in the compound tenses, where the passive participle is introduced, the 'si' becomes merely a medial adjunct to the neuter auxiliary 'essere.' See further, on x. 7. Many of these forms might be traced back to the period of decomposition of Latin verbs.

As there will be occasion in other passages to speak of the various forces of the reflective or middle voice, the following will be found useful. It will be noticed that the uses of the Greek middle correspond with many of the Italian reflective.

I. Intransitive verbs take a reflective form without changing their meaning (unless it be that the personality of the subject is emphasised): as 'andarsi,' 'tacersi,' 'mi fui' (xix. 88), 'si vive' (xxvii. 54), 'si cova' (xxvii. 41). Active verbs sometimes are used thus: as 'che tu ti mangi' (xxxii. 134),

2. Active verbs become directly reflective: as 'tenersi,' to restrain oneself, and 'togliersi,' to remove oneself (xvii. 101).

3. Indirectly reflective: as 'si lega,' gets itself bound (xiii. 88), and perhaps 'si tengono' in viii. 49.

4. They take the reflective pronoun merely as the *remote* object: as 'ciò che uom si toglie,' that of which a man deprives himself (xiii. 105): 'denaro si tolse,' he took money for himself.

5. They become reciprocal, as 'l'umana gente si rabbuffa,' men buffet each other (vii. 63); cp. 'ils se battent,' 'si chiamarono,' call each other (xxii. 39).

6. The reflective is used in impersonal phrases: as 'si va,' Lat. 'itur' (iii. 1); and that in this case the reflective is really a passive seems evident from the fact that 'da' and 'per' can be used with it. See on l. 126.

7. The reflective is distinctly a passive in such passages as 'Cristo tutto di si merca,' Christ is sold every day (Par. xvii. 51).

1. 63. **Chi**, one who. **Fioco**: see on iii. 27, 75. This refers to the long centuries of neglect which Virgil and all classic authors had suffered. The name of Virgil however had never been forgotten, for although he was not known as a poet, he was famous (and is still famous among the lower classes of Naples) for his proficiency in the black art.

1. 65. **Miserere di me**, have pity on me. 'Miserere' is Latin. Cp. Purg. v. 24, Par. xxxii. 12, 'Miserere mei' (from Ps. li. 1); and Petrarch's 'Miserere del mio non degno affanno.'

1. 68. **parenti**: used in the Latin sense 'parents,' as in iii. 103 and often. **Fui**: cp. x. 68.

1. 70. Virgil was born at Andes (probably the modern Pietola) near Mantua, B.C. 70. **Ancorchè fosse tardi**, 'although it was late,' is explained in two ways, both of which seem plausible. (1) It may mean 'though late in the days of Caesar.' Virgil was only twenty-five years of age when Caesar was murdered (B.C. 44), and was at that time not known to fame. Therefore he says that he 'lived' (**vissi**), i. e. flourished, under Augustus. (2) 'Under Julius Caesar, although that, i. e. his gaining supreme power, was after my birth.' Doubtless the acquisition of the imperial power by Caesar (though Augustus was really the first emperor) was a fact of supreme importance in the opinion of Dante, and he would jealously define such an expression as 'sub Julio.' Great difficulties have been raised about the 'E vissi,' as if Dante affirmed that he lived *only* during the reign of Augustus. The passage merely means 'and I lived not only under Julius, but came to Rome and lived under the good Augustus.' It is probable that Virgil had lived mostly on his farm till about B.C. 40, when he moved to the south. For the explanation of the allegory see p. 62, and cp. ix. 61, x. 4.

l. 72. **bugiardi**. Lomb. 'busia,' a lie; Prov. 'bauzia': probably from O. H. G. 'bösi' (böse), wicked. 'Bugiare' means also to 'pierce'; whence perhaps also 'to make empty,' 'to deceive.'

l. 74. Aeneas was the 'just son of Anchises.' Cp. Aen. i. 544, 'Quo justior alter Nec pietate fuit nec bello major.' Cp. Aen. xi. 126.

l. 75. **superbo**, proud, is probably Virgil's 'superbum Ilium' (Aen. iii. 3), and not, as some say 'lofty'; although that is an epithet often applied to Troy and other ancient cities on account of their lofty citadels. For 'superbo' cp. on xxi. 34.

l. 78. 'Which is the beginning and cause of all joy.' Compare with 'il diletto monte' Bunyan's 'Delectable Mountains.'

l. 80. **spande**, pours forth; from Lat. 'ex-' or 'dis-pandere.' See on v. 131. **Si largo fiume**: cp. Horace's 'velut amnis . . . Fervet immensusque ruit profundo Pindarus ore.'

l. 81. **Risposi lui**: 'Risposi a lui. Gli antichi tacevano spesso la preposizione *a* avanti i pronomi di persona.' (Fr.) Cp. 'dissi lui' (vii. 67, xiv. 71, xxxiii. 121), 'risposi lui' (xix. 89), 'cortesia fu lui' (xxxiii. 150).

l. 83. **vagliami** (mi valga), may it profit me: from 'valere,' of which these are the two forms 'vaglio' and 'valgo.' Cp. 'saglia' (xxiv. 55) and 'reggia' for 'regga' (xxiv. 30).

l. 85. **autore** means probably not merely 'author,' but 'guide,' as Dante himself says in Convito iv. 6. 'Author signifies any person worthy of being believed and obeyed.' (Cp.) Cf. Milton's

'Thou art my father, thou my author, thou
My being gav'st me; whom should I obey
But thee? whom follow?' (Par. Lost, ii. 864.)

The first line only is quoted by Cary, although the context shows that 'author' here means 'author of my being.' Yet Milton evidently copies Dante's expression.

l. 87. 'The beauteous style that hath done me honour.' He refers to the fame which he had already acquired by the sonnets in his Vita Nuova, and by his Canzoni. In the De Vulg. Eloq. he more than once alludes to himself—the friend of Cino' (x. and xviii.)—as one of the best modern poets; and he often quotes his own lines as models.

l. 89. **saggio**, sage; as also x. 128: cp. 'savio,' xiii. 47, etc. See x. 4. Fraticelli, however, says the ancients used it as a synonym for 'poeta,' and quotes from Dante, 'Amore e cor gentil sono una cosa, Siccome il saggio (Guido Guinicelli) in suo ditato pone.' In Purg. xxvii. 69 'saggi' is used of Virgil and Statius, both poets.

l. 93. 'To escape from this wild place.' See on l. 5. **Esto** (Lat. 'iste') is an antique form of the modern 'questo,' still used in poetry.

l. 94. *gride* for 'gridi.' This change is common in ancient writers. See xiii. 16, 25, 33.

l. 96. *impedisce*. Many verbs of the third conjugation, such as 'impedire,' take the suffix '-sco' (cp. Lat. inceptive '-sco,' and Greek -σκω) in the first person of the present, and retain it in certain tenses and persons.

l. 97. '*Malvagia* è meno di *ria*, e dicevasi a tutti gli oggetti corporei, come il francese *mauvais*.' (Fr.) Cp. for instance iii. 107. *Ria*: see on ix. III.

l. 98. *Empiere* is the Lat. 'implere.' 'That she never sates her ravening lust.' Cp. l. 49.

l. 100. 'Many are the animals to which she weds herself.' This refers to the foreign powers with whom Papal Rome had leagued herself; and, morally, to the many vices which are inseparable from avarice. Cp. xix. 106, 'Quando colei, che siede sovra l'acque, Puttan-eggiar co' regi a lui fu vista,' and Rev. xvii. 1-3.

l. 101. 'Until the Greyhound shall come.' *Veltro*, from late Lat. 'vertagus' (possibly a Gallic word, used by Martial): 'vertagra' is found in Gratian. Hence the medieval 'veltraga' and 'veltrahus,' and the Old French 'viautre.' Cp. xiii. 126. The allusion (if there is any) is exceedingly obscure, and has never been satisfactorily explained. Boccaccio confesses that he does not understand it. Some take it to mean a constellation (Landino). Others think that it alludes to Can Grande della Scala, Dante's patron. The chief objection to this is that Can was, at the time that the passage was written, too young to have inspired Dante with such hopes. Troya, in his '*Veltro Allegorico*,' originated the idea that it was Ugucione della Faggiuola, the famous Ghibelin chief. After 1302 the Florentine exiles found an asylum at Arezzo, where Dante was appointed one of the twelve councillors of the refugees. It was there that he formed an intimate friendship with Ugucione, to whom he is said by Boccaccio to have dedicated the *Inferno*, and who hospitably entertained him at Montefeltro, and afterwards at Lucca. Through him Dante was introduced to Can Grande. Some again conceive the Greyhound to be the Emperor: but, although it is true that Dante hoped for restoration to his native city by the influence of Henry VII, it was not till 1308 that he was elected King of the Romans, and not for three years after that he came to Italy to receive the iron crown. It is true that he raised a certain amount of enthusiasm, after the long indifference shown by his predecessor Albert of Austria (see *Purg.* vi. 97 foll. and xxxiii. 38), by his reception of the Italian deputies at Lausanne in 1310. We see by Dante's treatise '*De Monarchiâ*,' which he composed about that time, how great his own hopes were. But will the dates allow us to accept the theory?

l. 103. **peltro**: probably the medieval 'pestrum' or 'peutrum,' our 'pewter' (O. Fr. 'peutre,' Germ. 'spiauter.') It is generally explained to be pewter refined with silver, and to mean here 'money,' as we use 'gold,' and the French 'argent.'

l. 105. **Feltro**. If Can Grande be the Greyhound, Feltre and Montefeltro may be the places alluded to. Feltre or Feltri is near Beluna, in the Marca Trivigiana, and Montefeltro is in Romagna, west of Ancona. This gives too great a dominion; but the passage evidently is prophetic. Compare the prophecy ascribed to Michael Scot: 'The Dog of Verona shall be lord of Padua and of all the Marca Trivigiana.' (Cary, ad loc.) If Uguccione is meant, one of the Feltros would be Montefeltro. Troya finds two hills of that name. Fraticelli mentions 'il castello della Faggiuola, posta in mezzo alle città Feltriche di Macerata e di san Leo.' The oldest commentary (Ottimo Comento) and Boccaccio give 'feltro,' and the former explains 'between felt and felt,' i. e. 'of common race, as felt is a humble and mean cloth.' (Cl.) Cp. Lat. 'pileus,' the felt hat worn by freedmen.

l. 106. **umile** is merely Virgil's 'humilem Italiam' (Aen. iii. 522), which he uses to describe the low flat country of maritime Latium. It is natural that here Virgil should speak in the words of his own poem of that part of Italy 'for which virgin Camilla died,' intending thereby the whole of future Italy. But it is distinctly against the political views of Dante to speak of the salvation of merely one portion of his native land. The word does not mean South Italy (bassa Italia), as being the den of that Papal wolf. If it contains any secondary meaning, it may mean 'low-lying,' in a moral or political sense. **Fia** for 'sara,' as l. 122, v. 135, etc.

l. 107. **morio** for 'morì.' Such vowel suffixes are found frequently in Dante and in other ancient writers. For instance in Cino da Pistoia (xx.)

'Che mi ferì sì ch' io non comperoe:

E sol però così pensoso vœ:

.
Ora morroe:

E gli atti e gli sembianti ch' io foe.'

In Dante we find 'uscio' (x. 28), 'uscie' (xxvii. 78), *sen glo* (xxix. 34), 'potéo' (Purg. xx. 138), 'sentio' (xxxi. 133), and many other instances.

Camilla: daughter of Metabus, king of Privernum the Volscian town. She took part with her band of Amazons in the war against Aeneas, and was slain by Aruns. See Virg. Aen. vii. 803, xi. 432, 648, etc.

l. 108. Euryalus and Nisus were Trojans, youthful followers of

Aeneas. See Aen. ix. 174 foll. Turnus was the son of Daunus, and king of the Rutuli, who opposed Aeneas when he landed in Italy (Aen. x. 76). He was at length slain by Aeneas himself. Dante introduces these names because they are connected in legend with the first foundation of that 'Holy Roman Empire,' which in his time was represented in the person of the Emperor and revered by all true Ghibelins. Cp. on xxxiv. 65. *Di ferute*, of wounds. 'Feruta' is an antique form of 'ferita.'

l. 111. 'There, whence envy first let her loose.' *Dipartire*, to separate or loosen: cp. v. 69, and xxiii. 132, 'd'esto fondo a dipartirci,' to extricate us from this abyss. *Invidia* is probably the Devil, 'di cui è la invidia tanto pianta,' 'whose envy is so lamented' (Par. ix. 129), and, in its particular meaning, the natural envy and hatred of the Guelph faction. *Prima*, is an adverb, as in viii. 78, xiii. 46, etc. Some take it as an adjective, 'prima invidia,' 'primal envy.' Cp. iii. 6, 'il primo Amore.'

l. 112. 'Wherefore I think and judge it for thy best that thou follow me.' *Me* is a short form of 'meglio,' from antique 'mejo,' frequently used by Dante (xxxii. 15). Cp. 'vo' for 'voglio.' *Me* is here a substantive. Compare the use of 'bene' (iii. 18, etc).

l. 115. *strida* is the heteroclite plural of 'strido.' Cp. v. 35. 'Grido,' 'braccio,' 'dito,' 'labbro,' and many other words, form their plural similarly. See Vergani's Grammar, Lesson, iv. Cp. on viii. 43, 118; ix. 97.

l. 116. 'Di quegli' is sometimes read for *Vedrai gli*, in order to avoid the repetition 'E vederai.' *Antichi spiriti* means 'the shades of great men of old.' Cp. 'antica Rachele,' ii. 102. He probably mentions these in order to induce Dante to follow him more willingly. It was with this thought that Socrates consoled himself when about to die, that, if death were not a dreamless sleep, he would at least be among the spirits of the great. It will be noticed how Dante's severe code of justice (iii. 6) compelled him to place many of the great and good of ancient times among the tormented; although he has indeed introduced a luminous circle in his dark Inferno for some of them (canto iv.)

l. 117. 'Cries out for second death.' Cp. Rev. ix. 6, 'And in these days men shall seek death and shall not find it: and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.' Perhaps this 'second death' is the death of the soul, total annihilation (Fr.), but cp. iii. 46, and 126.

l. 118. *vederai*, a long form of 'vedrai,' as in iii. 17, xiii. 20. In all passages where it occurs the Cruscan edition has altered it. Here it reads 'e poi vedrai.' 'Those who are content in the fire' are the spirits in Purgatory, 'for they hope, whensoever that may be, to come to the blessed' in Paradise.

l. 121. *alle qua*: 'alle quali,' sc. 'genti.' 'To whom if thou shalt wish to ascend.' The spirit more worthy than Virgil, with whom he will leave Dante before the ascent to Paradise, is Beatrice (Purg. xxx). *Fia*: see l. 106.

l. 124. *Imperador* is again used for God in Par. xii. 40, and other passages. It is also used for the Roman Emperor (Purg. x. 76), and the German (Purg. vii. 94). Satan is called '*l'Imperador del doloroso regno*' (xxxiv. 28). With this form compare '*amadore*' used by the poets; as Cino da Pistoia, Sonn. ii., '*Naturalmente chiere ogni amadore.*'

l. 126. *per me si vegna*: this may be 'that I come,' or 'that any one come by means of me.' In the former '*per*' is used as '*da*.' Cp. '*per noi girato era sì il monte*' (Purg. xv. 8), and '*mentre che di là per me si stette*,' while I remained on earth (Purg. xxii. 85). For the impersonal '*si venga*' see on l. 62 and iii. 1.

l. 129. *cu' ivi elegge*: '*che elegge per abitare ivi.*' (Fr.) For '*cui*' see on v. 19.

l. 130. *Chieggio* and *chieggo* are used in poetry for '*chiedo*.' Cp. '*veggio*' '*seggo*,' etc.

l. 134. 'That I may see the gate of Saint Peter.' This is probably the gate of Purgatory, at which an angel stands holding the keys of St. Peter (Purg. ix). We must make allowances for imagination, and not explain away the expression into 'the popular name for Paradise' (see Blanc), on the ground that Dante as yet knew nothing of the gate of Purgatory. It is moreover evident that Hell and Purgatory are meant, for Virgil had said that he could not lead Dante to Paradise.

l. 135. 'Whom thou makest so sad,' i. e. whom thou describest as so tormented.

l. 136. *gli tenni dietro*, held after him; as '*volando dietro gli tenne*' (xxii. 134).

CANTO II.

ARGUMENT.

The evening of the first day (Good Friday) is already 'taking the animals that are on earth from their labours,' when the poets enter the wild and arduous way. After a brief invocation to the Muses, Dante relates how his courage began to fail him. For if Aeneas and Paul descended into Hell it was for no light reasons—but why should he

go? who permits it? He is not Aeneas; he is not Paul. But Virgil comforts him, telling how a blessed Spirit, even Beatrice, with eyes brighter than the star, had come to him from heaven, sent earthward by Grace and Mercy, and had pleaded with him to lead 'her friend though not the friend of fortune' to eternal places. Then, as flowerets bended down and closed by the chill of night erect and open themselves when the sun whitens them, so does his soul revive with hope, and he follows fearlessly.

CANTO III.

ARGUMENT.

The gate of Hell and its superscription. Sounds of great lamentation, at which Dante weeps. A great multitude, goaded by hornets and wasps, following a flag in furious and endless chase round the upper confines of the abyss. Here Acheron's livid waters girdle the brim of Hell, and descend to form the lower rivers and marshes. Its joyless shore is crowded with innumerable shades awaiting impatiently their transport. Charon refuses passage to the poets. A flash of vermilion light and a violent blast of wind deprive Dante of consciousness. He falls 'as one whom sleep overpowers.'

1. *i. si va*. The impersonal use of the reflective. Cp. Lat. 'itur.' See on x. 7 and i. 62. 'Through me is the way.' Notice the repeated sound 'dolente...dolore,' like the tolling of a funeral bell. (L.) Cp. the repetition of 'amore,' v. 100, foll. and iv. 73. *Città dolente*, the city of Dis (ix. 32). Cp. Virgil's 'lugentes campi' (Aen. vi. 441).

1. *6. il primo Amore*, primal love; the divine power which first harmonised into being the nothing of chaos, as the Eros of Hesiod. See on i. 39; and cp. *Purg.* iii. 134, xi. 2. The word 'Amore' is used by Dante sometimes of the Holy Spirit 'eternally breathed forth' by the Father and the Son (*Par.* x. 1-3; cp. vi. 11), and often of that divine attribute by means of which the supreme Power ('Potestate') formed the world, and which would seem rather to be the same as the 'Wisdom' of Solomon, and the 'Word' of St. John (i. 39; *Par.* xxxiii. 143, etc). In this passage however the word 'Sapienza' evidently must mean God the Son, 'Potestate' God the Father, and 'il primo

Amore' God the Holy Ghost. 'Remark how Dante... always feels that no infinite Love or Wisdom or Power are possible without Justice.' (Cl.) This Justice of Dante is almost the *μοῖρα* of the Greeks, 'rigida,' 'infallibile' (xxix. 56, xxx. 70: cp. also l. 125 and xxvii. 113; and see on i. 8).

ll. 7-8. In Par. xxix. 13 foll. the process and order of existence is described. First emanated from the mind of God at the same moment, form, material, and being: after that the elements were *created* (as is fully explained in Par. vii. 122 foll.), and we see from the present passage that Hell was the first created thing, and formed the core or nucleus of the earth. See however on xxxiv. 121.

l. 12. *duro*, terrible; as is plainly shown by Virgil's answer, for he does not explain the inscription, but encourages Dante. Cp. note on i. 4.

l. 13. *accorta* (verbal adj. from 'accorgersi'), experienced: see on viii. 40.

l. 15. *viltà* and the longer form 'viltate' (cp. *virtute*, *pietate*) are used by Dante only in the sense of 'cowardice,' like the Greek *καρία*. Cp. l. 60, and Virg. Aen. vi. 261: 'nunc animis opus Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.'

l. 16. *sem*, *semo*, used for 'siamo.'

l. 17. *Vederaì*, see on i. 118. Cruscan ed. reads 'che tu vedrai.'

l. 18. *il ben dell' intelletto*: not 'the gift of intellect,' but the *summum bonum* which can be acquired by intellect, that is, the knowledge of God, which alone is life, and without which these spirits had passed their time on earth: 'mai non fur vivi.' In his Convito, Dante uses and explains the same expression: 'il vero è il ben dell' intelletto.' See on i. 26.

l. 19. Rev. i. 17: 'And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not.' Chaucer has evidently imitated Dante (Assemble of Foules),

'With that my hand in his he caught anone:

On which I comfort caught, and went in fast.'

l. 21. *mise*. 'Mettere' is here used with the not uncommon meaning of the Latin 'mittere,' to let in; as 'mittin me intro?' (Plautus).

l. 22. *Quivi sospiri...* Compare Virg. Aen. vi. 426, 'Continuo auditae voces...' *Guaio*, properly 'the cry of a beaten dog.' (B). Perhaps connected with Greek *οὔαι*: cp. also Goth. 'vai,' O. Fr. 'wai.' It is common to most languages, and evidently onomatopoeic.

l. 24. *ne*, thereat. See on v. 13.

l. 27. *fioche*, weak: from Latin, probably, by the common substitution of *o* for *a*, from Lat. 'flaccus,' 'flaccidus.' Here Dante is evidently translating the 'vox exigua' or 'tenuis' of Virgil. Diez and

others derive the word from 'raucus' (fraucus), and refer to the 'raucæ voces' of Virgil. But see on i. 63. Cp. l. 75.

l. 29. *senza tempo tinta*, literally 'tinged without time,' i. e. eternally dark.

l. 31. *d'error la testa cinta*, 'my head girt about with error. Others read 'error.' The words are confounded in medieval Latin, as in the song 'Audite, omnes fines terræ, errore (horrorem) cum tristitiâ.'

l. 34. *modo . . . tengon*, 'hold this miserable mode,' 'suffer this miserable fate.' Cp. ix. 117, x. 64.

l. 36. 'Who have lived without infamy and without praise.' They were 'lukewarm, and neither hot nor cold' (Rev. iii. 16). Some read 'fama' for 'infamia': but the point is that they were not actively wicked enough to deserve even Hell. This kind of life is justly called no life.

ll. 38, 39. Neutral angels, who took part neither with Lucifer nor God. It has been well observed that the almost heroic character of Milton's Satan consists in the uncompromising obstinacy of his rebellion, which compels our admiration. So on the contrary these angels deserve nothing but 'dark oblivion'—not even the torments of the damned. Cp. Par. Lost, vi. 380. *Per se foro*, were for themselves, that is, neutral. *Foro* for 'furono.'

l. 40. *Cacciârli*, i. e. *cacciarongli*, drave them forth. *Per non esser . . .*, lest they (the heavens) should be less fair.

l. 42. 'Because the wicked would have no glory from them.' *Alcuno*, according to some, is here (as Monti first explained) used like the French 'aucun,' in the sense of 'niuno.' Those who translate it 'because the wicked would receive some glory from them,' cannot explain why these spirits are 'hateful to God and his enemies.' But the other passage in which Monti takes 'alcuno' in this sense (xii. 8) will not bear that interpretation. I therefore prefer to translate 'alcuno' in the usual way, but to give the meaning which Monti advances, by taking 'gloria' in the Latin sense of 'boasting.' 'Because the damned would have boasting over them.' That is, even the damned in Hell would scorn to receive them. Compare the usage of 'vanto' (ii. 108): 'onde il mar non ha vanto,' over which the sea has no boast (as explained by Boccaccio and the best of the commentators). Also (xxx. 64) 's' averian dato mal vanto,' would have vainly boasted.

l. 45. *Dicerolti*, I will tell it thee. *Dicere* for 'dire,' the Latin form.

l. 46. See on l. 126 and i. 128.

l. 49. 'Report of them the world permits not to exist.' (Cl.) This verse probably accounts for the false reading in l. 36.

ll. 52-55. This wonderful picture of the giddy flag followed by thronging troops in endless and aimless career finely represents the purposeless but eager existence of many 'who never were alive' when on earth. Milton speaks of

'the grisly legions that troop
Under the sooty flag of Acheron.'

l. 54. *d'ogni posa indegna*, indignant of all rest. *Indegna* here is the Latin 'indignans'; not, as some take it, 'unworthy.'

l. 60. *viltate*, cowardice; see l. 15. He who 'made the great refusal' is perhaps Pope Celestino V, who was called at the age of seventy-two from his hermit's cell among the hills of Morrone in Abruzzo to the papal chair. After a brief attempt to fill that difficult and even perilous post, he abdicated, and was succeeded and imprisoned by the crafty and unscrupulous Cardinal Benedetto Gaetano, who, under the name of Bonifazio VIII proved such an insidious and bitter enemy to the Ghibelins (see xix. 53, xxvii. 70, and especially Par. xxvii. 22). Dante is evidently unjust towards the simple and venerable Celestino. The fact that he gave place to Bonifazio is sufficient to account for such unfairness, for whenever that 'prince of the later Pharisees' is mentioned, Dante's wrath seems to exceed all bounds of moderation. Doubtless also the scandal of a papal resignation, being a confession of fallibility, was very great in the judgment of that age. (Milman, *Hist. Lat. Chr.* vi. 194). Petrarch however praises Celestino for his deed. It must be added that some doubt the allusion to Celestino in this passage. But cp. xxvii. 104, where he is said not to have 'held dear the keys.' Some have thought that it is Viero de' Cerchi, the weak-minded leader of the Cerchi and Bianchi in Florence.

l. 61. *Incontanente* (late Lat. 'in continenti,' i.e. 'continuo'), forthwith.

l. 64. *Sciaurati*, short form of 'sciagurati,' Lat. 'exaugurati': from the original meaning of 'desecrated' it seems to have acquired that of 'execrated' and 'unfortunate.' Cp. xxii. 44. With 'che mai non fur vivi,' compare xxxiii. 122, 157, where we see that the souls of those who were living this death-in-life on earth are tormented in Hell even before the actual death of the body.

66-69. *Moscone*, a hornet, is the augmentative of 'mosca' (musca, Lat.) a fly. 'These (wasps and hornets) bathed the faces of them with blood,' i.e. by stinging them. *Fastidiosi*, loathsome: cp. 'fastidiosa pena,' xxix. 107.

l. 73. 'And what custom (law) makes them so ready to pass over.' In l. 124 the more usual construction 'pronti al trapassar' is used. 'Genti' must be supplied, as indicated by the singular *gente* in l. 71. *Le*, them, must be carefully distinguished from 'le' (lei) the dative sing.

(and perhaps plural, xii. 75) of 'ella.' Both are affixed to verbs. (See v. 69 and xvii. 5).

l. 75. *fioco*, faint. Some take it even here as 'hoarse' (see l. 27); and perhaps this may be supported by the somewhat similar expression 'd'ogni luce muto' (v. 28).

l. 76. *fièn conte*, shall be made known (Lat. *cognitus*). *Fieno* (Lat. *fient*) is used for 'saranno.'

ll. 80, 81. *fusse* for 'fosse,' imperf. subj. of 'essere.' For *che* 'I some read 'nol': see xvii. 76. In *fino al fiume* . . . , until we reached the river I restrained myself from speaking. *Trassi* for 'ritrassi.'

l. 82. *Ed ecco*: 'ecco' is sometimes expressed by 'ed' or 'e' alone (xxv. 35, 50). Compare Greek *καὶ ἰδὸν*, used for *ἰδὸν* (Acts i. 10), and Lat. 'atque' (Virg. Georg. i. 203). Cp. Vita Nuova, 24.

l. 83. *Un vecchio* . . . : cp. Virgil of Charon, 'Jam senior . . . cui plurima mento canities' (Aen. vi. 300, 304).

l. 85. *Non isperate*: cp. 'ispecchio,' 'isquatrare,' etc., all used after a consonant (vi. 18). For *menarvi* see v. 13.

l. 88. *Costì*, there (istic). Compare Virg. Aen. vi. 388 sq. 'Quisquis es armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis. . . and Inf. viii. 84.

ll. 91, 92. *Porti*, 'havens,' i. e. by some other passage over the river. The word *porto* is said also to mean a ferryboat, such as is used on the Po. Carlyle's translation 'ferries' gives both the meanings.

Verrai . . . , thou shalt come to the shore for passage.

l. 93. Compare 'Corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina' (Aen. vi. 391 and 413), and Inf. viii. 27. *Porti*, subj. from 'portare.' Notice that Dante (as other poets) use such rhymes as 'porti' . . . 'porti,' when the meanings of the words are different. Cp. xix. 85-87, xxii. 75, xxiv. 20, etc., and cp. xiii. 55.

l. 94. *Non ti crucciare* is Virgil's 'absiste moveri,' Aen. vi. 399.

l. 95. Lit. 'It is willed (si vuole) thus there where can be done that which is willed.' *Potersi* = 'esser possibile.' Dante is fond of this indefinite mode of expression: cp. 'là ove il sì suona' (xxxiii. 80); and 'altri,' often used for 'God' (v. 81, xxvi. 141, etc.), and 'Tal' (viii. 105), and 'Colui' (vii. 73, Purg. xiii. 108 and often), and 'giù,' 'su,' of hell and earth, as Greek *ἐκεῖ* and *ἐνθάδε*. Notice the infinitive used for a negative imperative—'non dimandare.'

l. 97. *Quinci*, lit. hence, i. e. hereupon. 'The woolly cheeks of the pilot of the livid marsh were quiet.' 'Tumida ex ira corda residunt' (Aen. vi. 407).

l. 98. *Nocchier* is probably from Greek *ναύκληρος*, and not through the Latin form, which is rare; though it is used by Plautus. This is one of the many sea-terms from the Greek. With *livida palude*

cp. Aen. vi. 320, 'livida vada,' and Catullus 18. 10, 'paludis lividissima vorago.' And with l. 99 cp. Aen. vi. 300, 'stant lumina flammâ.'

l. 101. **Cangiâr** (cangiarono), changed. **Dibattero**, gnashed.

l. 105. Lit. 'the seed of their sowing and of their births,' i.e. the origin from whence they first sprang (their ancestors) and the authors of their birth (their parents). Others seem to take the two expressions as synonymous.

l. 106. **si ritrasser**, lit. 'drew back' (as xxii. 30), i.e. collected.

tutte quante, sc. 'anime'; a strong expression for 'all.' It is used also in the singular adverbially (xx. 4). Compare *πίθηκοι ἀφθονοὶ ὄσοι . . . γίγνονται*, Hdt. 4. 194.

l. 108. **Ch' attende . . .**, which awaits every man . . .

l. 109. **Dimonio** or **demonio**. Any of the ministers of Hell are thus called. It is also applied to one of the damned (xxx. 117).

bragia ('brace' in common Italian), a live coal, glede. Compare A. S. 'blase,' and our 'blaze' and 'brazier.' Cp. 'braska' in Grisons. See Fauriel, ii. 261.

l. 112. Compare Aen. vi. 309:

'Quam multa in silvis auctumni frigore primo
Lapsa cadunt folia...'

And Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 304.

ll. 116-117. **Gittansi**: from 'gettarsi' or 'gittarsi,' cast themselves. The plural follows the noun of multitude **seme**.

Augella. From the diminutive 'aucella' (avicula): hence Italian 'uccello.' Compare the forms 'augur,' 'auceps.' 'As a bird at its call,' i.e. at the call of the fowler, who imitates that of a bird.

Notice the superiority of Dante's simile of the falling leaves to that of Virgil, from whom he borrowed the idea. In the Aeneid it is merely the multitudinous thronging together of the ghosts that is represented by leaves falling in dense showers after the first frost of autumn. There is no motion: '*stabant orantes . . .*' So in Milton; 'who *lay* entranced, Thick as autumnal leaves.' Dante has added greatly to the mere description of multitude by 'extending the moment.'

ll. 118-120. **sen vanno**. See v. 13: 'depart.'

Di là . . . di qua, on the further shore . . . on this shore. **Schiera**: from Germ. 'Schar' or 'Schaar,' medieval 'scara.' 'Bellatorum acies quas vulgari sermone *scaras* vocamus' (Hincmar, Archbp. of Rheims. See Fauriel, vol. ii. 314).

l. 122. **muoion**: 3rd pl. pres. from 'morire.' Cp. 'paiono,' from 'parere.'

l. 126. 'So that fear is turned into desire': not (as Fraticelli) 'that they may escape a more severe punishment,' but because their con-

sciences so confirm the divine sentence that they long for their doom. Cp. Virgil's 'ultrices curae,' and 'tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore,' *Aen.* vi. 314. Cp. l. 46 and i. 117.

l. 127. *Quinci*, hence; i. e. from this shore of Acheron.

l. 129. 'Thou canst well learn now what his speech imports,' lit. 'sounds.' This refers to the preceding line. No soul that had not been condemned (*anima buona*) could pass; and that is the complaint which Charon makes of Dante. The souls destined for Purgatory were embarked 'where the water of the Tiber grows salt' (*Purg.* ii. 101). For the argument falsely founded on '*anima buona*' see p. 61. *Dir*: infinitive used as a substantive.

l. 132. *ancor*. This touch of reality is introduced more than once by Dante, as '*anche il cuor s'accapriccia*' (xxii. 31; cp. xxiv. 84, xxiii. 19, xxx. 135).

l. 134. *Che* refers to *vento*. *Vermiglio* is derived, not from 'minium,' but from 'vermiculus'; the colour being made from a kind of gall insect or cochineal. Cp. '*carmesino*,' crimson, originally from same root; Sanscr. '*krimis*,' Lat. '*vermis*.'

l. 136. Cp. v. 142. 'As a man whom sleep seizes.'

CANTO IV.

ARGUMENT.

A violent thunderclap breaks the deep slumber which had overcome Dante, and he finds himself on the further shore of Acheron, at the very brink of the abyss. This is the first circle, the Limbo of the unbaptized, who live in desire but without hope. No loud lamentations are heard here, but the air is ever trembling with sighs. The murky darkness is 'conquered' by a circle of light. (Cp. *Aen.* vi. 640.) To this Limbo Virgil himself is condemned, with many other great men of olden days, some of whom, such as Adam, Noah and Abraham, had been released by the Mighty One, when He descended into Hell. Here meet them Homer, Horace, Ovid and Lucan; and after they have entered a noble castle girdled seven times with lofty bulwarks, they reach a verdant meadow, where are assembled 'upon the green enamel' people of great dignity in their appearance, 'with eyes slow and grave'.¹ Electra is here, and Hector, and Caesar 'with falcon's eyes'; and, seated

¹ For this trait compare *Purg.* vi. 63, '*Nel muover degli occhi onesta e tarda*'; and Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* vii. 12, '*Occhi pietosi a riguardare, a muover parchi*'; also Petrarch—

amid a philosophic family is Aristotle, 'the Master of those who know.' Near him stand Socrates, Plato, and other of the sages. Many more there are—Orpheus, Livy, Tully, Ptolemaeus, Galen and Averroes—far more than can be recounted by one who is goaded on by the long theme which he has undertaken to sing. From that calm and luminous place they return to the eternal darkness and into the air that trembles.

CANTO V.

ARGUMENT.

The second circle. Minos stands at the entrance, and assigns to the doomed their place of punishment. In this circle are the 'carnal sinners,' blown like flocks of starlings about the black sky by a fierce and restless hurricane. Francesca di Rimini.

1. 1. **primaio** : antique form from Lat. 'primarius'; sometimes in the strict signification of 'primary' or 'original'; as 'Ogni primaio aspetto ivi era casso' (xxvii. 77), and 'dal colore e dal freddo primai' (Par. ii. 108): but often equivalent to 'primo.' Adam is called 'l'anima primaia' (Par. xxvi. 100).

1. 2. 'Which encompasses less space.' (Cl.) The form of the Inferno was that of an inverted cone (see Topography of Inferno), so that the circles, as they descended, became more and more contracted, and in proportion as they were smaller contained 'so much greater pain,' i. e. so much severer torments.

1. 3. **che pugne** . . . , which goads to lamentation. It is better to take **che** as the relative, and not, as Carlyle, 'so much greater... that.' With the form 'pugnere' cp. 'cignere,' 'pignere,' etc. For **guaio** see iii. 22.

1. 4. **Stavvi Minos. Vi** = there. The consonant is doubled, as is usual in such cases; as 'dirotti' ('ti dirò,' ii. 86), 'dimmi,' 'menommi' (xiii. 131), etc. 'There stands Minos horribly, and grins,' i. e. 'a terrific sight'; like the use of the Latin 'horrendum,' which Milton imitates, 'Grinned horrible a ghastly smile,' Par. Lost, ii. 845. Minos, the celebrated Cretan legislator, associated as judge in Hades with Rhadamanthus and Aeacus. 'Dante furnishes him with a tail, thus converting him, after

'Chi gli occhi di costei giammai non vide
Come soavemente ella gli gira.'

How different from the Greek *ἐλικοβλέφαρος*, and the Latin 'vultus lubricus aspici'!

the medieval fashion, into a Christian demon.' (L.) Virgil calls him 'Quaesitor Minos' (Aen. vi. 432), which Dante translates (l. 9) by 'conoscitor.' **Ringhiare**, a strong form, from Lat. 'ringor,' to grin like a dog. Cp. 'avvinghiare' and 'avvincere,' l. 6; and with the expression cp. 'visi cagnazzi' (xxxii. 70).

ll. 6-8. **Mandare** may be here used in the Lat. sense 'to give over,' 'assign'; or it may be merely 'send.' **Secondo ch' avvinghia**, according as he girds (himself). This is explained in the following lines. **Avvinghia** = 's'avvince.' **Tutta si confessa**, wholly confesses. 'Tutto,' agreeing with a substantive, is frequently used in this adverbial manner: cp. 'tutta si dispoglia' (xvi. 54).

l. 10. **da essa**, for it. **Da** is often used in this sense: as 'buona da mangiare,' and 'non è impresa da pigliare a gabbo,' 'not an enterprise to be undertaken in jest' (xxii. 7).

l. 11. **Cignesi**: see note on l. 3. Minos circles himself with as many coils of his tail as the number of 'grades,' or circles, that he condemns the shade to descend. **Messa**, 'thrust down.' (L.) See iii. 21.

l. 13. **ne**, 'of them.' From Lat. 'inde.' Cp. with French 'en' in the following significations:—(1) of it, of them; as 'ne ho' (J'en ai), I have some of it: (2) away, from; as 'andarsene' (s'en aller), to go away. It is to be noticed that such words as 'mi,' 'si,' 'ci,' etc., when immediately followed by **ne**, are changed into 'me,' 'se,' 'ce,' etc.; as 'non se ne parla,' it is not spoken of. This word must not be confounded with the dative and accusative of 'noi,' 'n'è dato,' it is given to us. Similarly 'vi,' a form of the oblique cases of 'voi,' must be distinguished from 'vi,' there, the short form of 'ivi' (Lat. ibi). 'Ci' also is used for 'ne' (noi) and is also 'there' (Lat. hicce). **Ne** is sometimes joined to verbs in merely a complementary manner: as 'timida si fane,' 'becomes timorous' (Par. xxvii. 33).

l. 18. 'Leaving the act of that great office' (Cl.); i. e. the exercise of his judicial power.

l. 19. 'In whom thou trustest.' **Cui** is the relative, used here for the indirect interrogative. It is used for all cases of the relative: 'lo cui saver,' whose knowledge (vii. 73). **Fide** and **gride**, for 'fidi' and 'gridi,' subjunctives.

l. 20. 'The wideness of the entrance.' Cp. Matt. vii. 13, and 'patet atri janua Ditis' (Aen. vi. 126). **Entrare**; infinitive used as a substantive. Cp. 'dir,' iii. 129.

l. 21. **pur**. The exact meaning of 'pure' in this passage has been questioned. It may mean 'too': i. e. 'why dost thou cry out, as did Charon?' (iii. 88). A similar use is made of it in 'che pur guate' (xxix. 4), and 'perchè pur diffidi' (Purg. iii. 22), where it seems to mean 'still.' The word is often untranslatable. Its chief uses are the following:—

1. 'Only': 'che copria pur li piedi' (xii. 125), so that it covered only the feet.

2. 'Only so,' i. e. always: 'pure a sinistra' (xiv. 126), ever to the left.

3. 'Only so,' i. e. just: 'pure come' (xxvi. 27), just as.

'Non pure' is 'not only,' or 'none the less' (neppure). 'Pur che' is 'provided that,' 'if only.'

l. 23. These words are the same as were addressed to Charon. See iii. 95.

l. 26. **A farmisi sentire**, 'to make themselves perceived by me.' This use of the active infinitive in the place of the passive after the verb 'fare' is the same as is found in French with 'faire': as, 'il se fait sentir.' In both Italian and French a dative may be used of the indirect object. The construction is one not unknown in Latin and Greek (see Matthiae Gr. 534), and may be compared to that of 'lassen' in German. Cp. also Shakspeare, Hamlet, iii. 4, 'to have him hoist' (unless indeed 'hoist' is the participle from 'hoise'). The dative is sometimes replaced by 'a' (as also in French, 'faire faire une chose à...'). For this see viii. 59; and cp. on x. 7.

l. 28. 'Dumb of all light.' Cp. 'dove il Sol tace' (i. 60), 'where the sun is silent.' It is an expression used also of the moon by Milton, Pliny and others. Perhaps Dante was thinking of Virgil's 'loca nocte tacentia' (Aen. vi. 265). Cp. 'lo fioco lume' (iii. 75: see however the note).

l. 31. **bufera**, hurricane. To be driven about the sky by violent tempests is the punishment of those who in the world above have yielded to the storms of passion, 'Wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished.' (Wisd. of Sol. xi. 16.) Cp. Measure for Measure iii. 1:

'To be imprisoned in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world.'

Bufera is formed from Prov. 'buf:' cp. 'buffo,' 'buffet,' etc., in the two senses of 'a blow.'

l. 34. **ruina**, precipice. Dante uses the word again to describe the landslip formed by the Adige (xii. 4). Here it probably refers to the precipitous crags overhanging the third circle.

l. 35. **Quivi**: cp. iii. 22. **Strida**: see viii. 43.

l. 37. **così fatto**, 'such': more usually 'sì fatto' or 'siffatto.'

l. 39. 'Subject reason to desire.' **Talento** has this meaning also in Purg. xxi. 64. Sometimes however it merely stands for 'volontà,' as Inf. ii. 81. Cp. 'aver talento' (x. 55).

l. 40. **stornei**, starlings; for 'stornelli,' as 'capei' for 'capelli,' and 'bei' for 'belli,' and 'fratei' for 'fratelli.' 'Erano i capei d'oro all'aura sparsi' (Petrarch). For **ne** see i. 13.

l. 45. **Non che . . . ma**, 'not only . . . but even.' Sometimes the second clause is suppressed, as 'non che altri,' even if no other (xxvi. 9). The expression is exactly like the Greek οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλὰ, or οὐχ ὅτι . . . ἀλλὰ.

l. 46. A simile used by Homer (Il. iii. 3) and imitated by Virgil (Aen. x. 265) and others. **Van** for 'vanno.'

l. 48. **traendo**, 'uttering long-drawn wails'; lit. drawing forth (trarre). The expression is common: cp. 'Traendone sospiri spesso e guai' (Cino da Pistoia 73). Notice the construction of participles and gerunds in Italian.

l. 49. **detta briga**, 'the aforesaid stress.' (L.) The word really means 'trouble,' or 'disquiet.' The word 'brigh' is said by Fauriel (ii. 9) to be Gallic, and to mean 'activity or valour.' Cp. Fr. 'brigue,' and 'brigand,' 'brigade.'

l. 51. **gastiga**, weakened form of 'castiga.' Cp. Fr. 'gonfler' from Lat. 'conflare.'

l. 53. **allotta**, a form of 'allora.' 'Otta' is still used for 'ora' by the common people in Italy: also in xxxi. 112, xxxiv. 7.

l. 55. 'Empress of many tongues,' i. e. of many nations. **Rotta** . . , 'broken or abandoned to the vice of luxury.' Cp. the expression of Persius, 'patrantifractus ocello,' 'dissolute with wanton eye' (i. 18).

ll. 57-58.

'That lustful she made licit in her law

To remove the blame to which she had been led.' (L.)

Semiramis was a celebrated Assyrian queen, wife of Ninus, whom she is said to have persuaded to allow her the supreme power for five days, and availed herself of the opportunity to put him to death. She then erected in Nineveh a tomb to his memory 'nine stadia high and ten wide' (?) The building of Babylon and the construction of the hanging gardens are ascribed to her. She conquered many nations of Asia, as well as Egypt and Ethiopia. It is probable that the later stories of her voluptuousness are due to the fact that she is partially identified with Astarte, the Aphrodite of the East. Another reading gives 'che sugger dette,' who gave suck to. In this case we must understand that she married (or, according to other stories, personified) her son, whose name, according to the rather mythological history of those times, was Ninias.

l. 60. **Babylonia**: or, some say, Cairo.

l. 61. **s' ancise**: from 'ancidere,' a poetic and antique form for the more usual 'accidere' (occidere). Dido is meant. For Sichaeus see Aen. i. 343 sq.

l. 64. 'So great an age of ill revolved'; i. e. the period of the siege of Troy. **Reo** is sometimes used by Dante in the Lat. sense of 'guilty,' as 'di che fummo rei?' of what are we guilty? The guilty souls are often called 'i rei.' But the common meaning is merely 'evil' or 'cruel.'

1. 66. *per amore*. Through the love which he bore to Patroclus. Some however fancy that Dante refers to the legend that Achilles was murdered by Paris in the temple of Apollo, whither he had gone unarmed to meet Polyxena. Others read '*con amore*,' in which case the passage will be translated 'who fought with love to the end' (C.), or 'who fought at last with love' (Cl.), i.e. fought his last fight not against men in battle, but against love—or treachery in the form of love. *Combatteo*, a lengthened form of '*combattè*' (perf.). See on x. 28.

1. 67. Paris of Troy; but some fancy a '*cavaliere errante*' of that name to be meant, whose love for Vienna forms the subject of a popular Italian legend. *Tristano* is the Sir Tristram whose adventures are related in the *Mort d'Arthur*.

1. 68. *mostrommi*: see l. 4. *A dito*; sc. pointing them out with his finger. Cp. '*digito monstrarier*.'

1. 69. *Che ... dipartille*; a pleonasm, '*le*' '*them*,' being repeated after '*che*,' '*whom*': a construction also found in Greek; St. Mark i. 7, οὗ ... αὐτοῦ: cp. Pindar, Ol. i. 191. See on iii. 73.

1. 72. *smarrito*, lost or bewildered; the same word as is used of the path being lost in the thick wood (i. 3). For derivation see on viii. 22.

1. 74. *Parlerei*, '*I would speak*'; the optative mood, like '*vorrei*' (*volere*), '*I should like*.' For *paion* see iii. 122.

1. 77. *prega*; imperative, '*do thou entreat*.' For *i* see x. 113.

1. 79. *sì tosto come ... piega*, '*so soon as the wind sways them*.' *Sì* is probably '*so*,' but some think it to be a short form of '*sin*,' i.e. '*fin*,' until.

1. 81. *altri*: see iii. 95.

1. 84. '*Borne through the air by desire*,' i.e. their longing '*dulces revisere nidos*' (Virg. Georg. i. 414). Cp. also Virgil's description of a dove flying (Aen. v. 216)—

'mox aere lapsa quieto

Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.

ll. 85–86. *Dido*, the Latin form for '*Didone*'; as '*decurio*' (xxii. 74), and '*Scipio*' (Par. xxvii. 61). *Uscîr* for '*uscirono*.'

1. 86. *L' aer maligno*, probably imitated from Virgil's '*lux maligna*' (Aen. vi. 270). But the meaning here seems to be '*baneful*,' whereas in Virgil it means '*niggardly*,' '*scant*.' However, I cannot help thinking that it here also refers to the want of light, as '*l'aer perso*' (l. 89). It is again used in conjunction with '*perso*' (vii. 108).

1. 87. '*The call of love*.' See l. 78. They are lured by the words of Dante, as birds by the voice of a fowler.

1. 88. *animal*, '*living creature*.' The fact of his being a living creature, '*anima viva*,' is often noticed by those he meets, and is wonderfully illustrated by such touches as the movement of stones under

his feet 'beneath the unwonted burden,' and the sinking of Phlegyas' boat, 'which appeared laden only when I was in' (Inf. xii. 30, viii. 27). Cp. Aen. vi. 414,

'Gemit sub pondere cymba
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.'

l. 89. **Perso.** 'Perse is a colour composed of purple and black; but the black prevails' (Convito. iv. 20). Chaucer uses the word. Perhaps Dante was thinking of Virgil's 'lumine . . . purpureo,' which however is used in the sense of 'bright' (Aen. vi. 640. Cp. Hor. Carm. iv. 1. 'purpureis oloribus'). Cp. the Homeric πορφύρεος

l. 90. 'We who dyed the earth with blood-stain' or 'stained . . . in-carnadine.' (L.) Francesca da Rimini was the daughter of Guido of Folenta, lord of Ravenna and Cervia (called 'il Vecchio,' to distinguish him from Dante's friend, Guido Novello da Polenta e Cervia: see Introduction and xxvii. 41). According to Boccaccio it was after a long and bitter feud that an attempt was made to establish peace between the house of Ravenna and that of Rimini, the head of which was the 'old mastiff,' Malatesta Vecchio (xxvii. 46). On this occasion Francesca was betrothed to the deformed Gianciotto (i. e. Giovanni Sciancato), the eldest son of Malatesta. The story is that this Gianciotto, being ashamed of his deformity, sent his younger brother Paolo, a man of pleasing appearance and courteous manners, to espouse Francesca in his stead. Francesca, mistaking the younger for the elder brother, became so enamoured of him that, after her discovery of the artifice, it was impossible for her to transfer her love to the cripple who claimed her as his wife. Dante tells the rest of the tale. These events happened about 1288. The murder probably took place in Pesaro. Cp. Petrarch, Tr. Am. iii.

l. 93. **Poi c'hai** = 'Poichè hai,' since thou hast. **Perverso**, 'perverse misfortune' (Cl.); but the meaning seems very obscure. It evidently refers to their fate, and is taken to mean 'cruel' or 'terrible' by some commentators. Cp. 'Dies perversus atque advorsus' (Pliny). Yet Dante in all other places (as xxv. 77; Par. xx. 126, etc.), uses it with the signification of 'perverse.' It may allude to their infatuation in love.

l. 95. **vui** for 'voi'; cp. 'sui' for 'suoi' (l. 99), and 'fusse' for 'fosse' (xxvi. 51).

l. 97. **terra**; perhaps 'city,' as often (x. 2; xx. 98; xxi. 40):

'The land where I was born sits by the seas,
Upon that shore to which the Po descends
With all its followers in search of peace.'

Byron's transl. in terza rima.

ll. 100-102. Notice the repetition of the word **Amor**. See iii. 1. **S'apprende**, 'is lighted,' catches flame. Some however translate

'attaches itself to, lays hold of, a gentle heart.' See xxxiv. 107, note. 'Prendere' is often thus used of love or of a flame, as in the following verse. 'Inflamed him, enamoured him, of the fair form which was taken from me: and the manner still offends me'; i. e. the manner in which I was deprived of life, namely, by a cowardly act of assassination. With the expression *Che mi fu tolta* cp. Inf. xiii. 103, where the souls confined in the bleeding trees expect on the last day to return for their 'spoils' ('spoglie,' cp. iii. 114), that is, for the bodies of which they had despoiled themselves.

l. 103. 'Love, which excuses no one loved from loving.' Many later writers have imitated this line: see Cary's note, and add Cino da Pistoia (iii.), 'A nullo amaro amar perdona Amor.' The idea is the same as that of the Greek Anteros, so beautifully explained by Plato. She has spoken with indignation of her dastardly assassin, and in like manner she declares with transport that she still loves—that joy has not abandoned her even in Hell.' (Macaulay.) Notice that the shades are not deprived of their earthly affections:

'perchè morta
Deidamia ancor si duol d'Achille'

(xxvi. 61; cp. xiv. 63).

Cp. with this Plato's *Phaedrus*, 256, where he tells how the souls of lovers 'never abandon one another in the ethereal life.'

l. 104. *Del costui piacer*, 'of longing for him.' *Costui* is genitive. *Piacere* is used in this sense in the older writers. But it may mean (as indeed is more natural in a woman speaking of herself) merely 'pleasing him.'

l. 107. *Caina*. The part of the frozen ninth circle, apportioned to the treacherous and murderers. It derives its name from the first murderer, Cain (xxxii). For *ci* see l. 13. *Spense*, quenched, from 'spegnere,' Latin 'expingere,' to paint out, obliterate.

l. 108. *pôrte*, directed, from 'porgere' (Lat. *porrigere*). The expression 'porgere parole' (cp. 'porgere prieghi, gli occhi, il passo,' etc.) is used more than once by Dante (ii. 135, xvii. 88). Cp. Plato's *λόγους προτείνειν*.

l. 109. *Da che*, generally 'since,' but here 'after that' (cp. xiii. 34). *Offense*, the Lat. 'offensus,' for the more modern form 'offeso,' 'tormented.'

l. 117. 'Make me sad and pitiful even to weeping.'

l. 119. 'At what and how': 'per qual segno e per qual modo.' (Fr.)

ll. 121-123. These well-known lines express a thought which Dante probably found in his favourite Boethius (*Consol. Phil.* ii. 4), 'In omni adversitate fortunae infelicissimum genus est infortunii fuisse felicem et non esse.' Chaucer has copied Dante:

'The worste kind of infortune is this,
A man to have been in prosperitie,
And it remember when it passid is.'

(Tr. and Cr. Bk. iii.)

Cp. also Propertius, i. 15. 13, 'Dolebat... longae conscia laetitiae'; and Shakespeare, Richard III:

'O no, the apprehension of the good
Gives but the greater feeling to the worse.'

And Tennyson, Locksley Hall:

'this is truth the poet sings,

That a sorrow's crown of sorrow is rememb'ring happier things.'
Il tuo dottore; i. e. Virgil, as in l. 70.

l. 126. *che piange e dice*, i. e. who speaks while he weeps.

ll. 127, 128. *leggevamo*, we were reading (*legebamus*). The Cruscan ed. reads '*leggiavamo*,' which is said to be a Florentine solecism. Per *diletto*, 'for pastime' (Cl.). The romance of Launcelot and Guinever is mentioned again in Par. xvi. 15; and the story of Modred is alluded to in Inf. xxxii. 62.

l. 130. *sospinse*, 'forced together,' or drew together; from '*sospignere*' (sub-pingere), of which perhaps '*spingere*' is a contraction (unless from '*expingere*'). It is used often in the sense of '*urge on*.' '*Spingere*' is not used by Dante.

l. 131. *scolorocci*, '*ci scolorò*,' lit. 'discoloured the face for us'; i. e. flushed our faces. See line 4.

The initial 's' in Italian is often a contraction of—

1. The Latin '*ex*'; as in '*sporre*' (*exponere*), '*spremere*' (*exprimere*), '*scuoiare*' (*ex...orium*), etc.

2. '*dis*'; as '*scolorare*' (*discolor*): often with a negative force, as '*sdegnare*,' to disdain; '*spiacere*' (*displicere*); '*scaricare*' or '*discaricare*' (xvii. 135), to unload. Cp. '*svenire*' to faint away, with the synonym '*venire meno*' (l. 141, and xxviii. 4).

The two forms are often found, such as '*sfogare*' (xxxiii. 113) and '*disfogare*' (xxxi. 71).

l. 133. *riso*..., 'the longed-for smile kissed by such a lover'—a beautiful expression for 'the mouth, which gave the longed-for smile of consent, kissed by...'

l. 135. *fià*, for '*sarà*.'

l. 137. *Galleotto*, Sir Galahad, who was the go-between of Launcelot and Guinever, and who also wrote the book concerning their loves. Thus the name is here used in a double signification, the line meaning 'the book was a *Galleotto* (i. e. encouraged us to the guilty act) and he who wrote the book was *Galleotto*.' '*Il suo nome è divenuto sinonimo di seduttore, ruffiano*.' (B.)

l. 138. *avante* for '*avanti*,' lit. forward, i. e. any further. 'Nothing can exceed the delicacy with which Francesca in these words intimates her guilt.' (C.) Cp. the celebrated line (xxxiii. 75) with which Ugolino ends his dreadful story, and in which an awful deed is perhaps intimated:

'Poscia più che il dolor potè il digiuno'—

'after that hunger was more powerful than grief.'

l. 140. *pietade*: cp. '*viltade*' (iii. 15).

l. 141. *Io venni men*: see note to l. 131. *Morisse*; for '*morissi*,' imp. subj. 'as if I were dying.' (Cl.)

l. 142. Cp. Rev. i. 17, 'I fell at his feet as dead.' The line is imitated by Pulci, '*E cadde come morto in terra cade*.' (Morg. Magg. xxii.) Dante swoons with grief at hearing of Francesca's fate, for he was connected by the strongest ties of friendship with her family, and must have felt an intense interest in the pathetic story. Nevertheless it is Paolo's tears that actually overcome him, if we accept the words literally.

CANTOS VI, VII.

ARGUMENT.

On the return of consciousness Dante finds that he is in a new scene (cp. Canto IV. ad init.). He is in the third circle, where the gluttonous are exposed to a terrible storm of 'eternal, accursed, cold and grievous' rain mingled with heavy hail, snow, and noisome water. Cerberus, the 'great worm,' with his three throats barks over them, and rends them. His eyes are vermilion, his black beard is clotted with gore, and on his hands are claws. Ciacco (the Hog) a Florentine sits up as they pass, and tells Dante of events which are about to happen in his native city—how the Bianchi shall drive out the Neri, and be in their turn expelled. Then with slow steps passing on through the 'loathsome mixture of shades and rain' the poets reach the descent to the fourth circle. Plutus, god of riches, is stationed here, and, seeing them approach, begins with 'clucking voice' to utter some unearthly sounds of warning to Lucifer—'Pape Satan, pape Satan aleppe!' But Virgil with fierce words of reproof silences him, so that he falls to the ground, as a bellying sail falls when the mast snaps. In this circle the prodigal and avaricious are punished. Divided into two companies they roll huge stones in opposite directions, and when they meet on the further side they revile each other and clash together,

and again turn to traverse their semicircle. (Cp. Aen. vi. 616.) Among the avaricious, who are to the left, Dante sees many tonsured heads of those who had been priests and cardinals and popes. Virgil discourses to Dante concerning Fortune. But it is now midnight, and every star is falling; so they pass on to the next bank from which a dark turbid stream boils and swirls down into the fifth circle, where it forms the great marsh of Styx. In this marsh are seen 'muddy people,' naked, smiting each other with their hands and feet, and tearing each other with their teeth. Underneath too are many 'who sob and make the water bubble at the surface.' After traversing a great arc of the circle, between the dry bank and the fen, they come at length to the foot of a tower, whence they wait to be ferried across by Phlegyas. (Cp. Virg. Aen. vi. 414 sq.)

CANTO VIII.

ARGUMENT.

A flame from the summit of the tower is answered by another at a distance. Phlegyas comes swiftly and angrily ferrying across in a little skiff; and they embark. Filippo Argenti rises up before them, and tries to lay hold of the boat. The city of Dis appears, with its mosques 'red as from the fire.' They land before the city gates, which a band of fallen angels shut, refusing them entrance. Virgil goes forward to parley, but returns in great despondency—though he comforts Dante with the assurance that there is One on his way to help them, who already is past the gate of Hell.

1. 1. *seguitando*. Some explain this to mean that the first seven cantos were written by Dante before his banishment, and that he resumed the story at this point. See Introduction, p. lxxvii. It is more probable however that it merely means 'continuing the description of the fifth circle.'

1. 2. *fussimo* for 'fossimo.' For *n'andâr* (*n'andaron*) see v. 13.

1. 4. *i'*; i. e. 'ivi,' there: cp. 'u' for 'ove,' ix. 33. For construction of *porre* after *vendemmo* see v. 26 and viii. 59. The two flames were the signal that two persons were waiting to be ferried across.

1. 6. 'That the eye could scarcely perceive (lit. take) it.' *Torre* is a form of 'togliere.'

l. 7. 'To the sea of all wisdom,' i.e. Virgil. Cp. vii. 3, 'che tutto seppe,' and see x. 4, note.

l. 8. **Che dice** . . . , 'what says this fire?' Not, as some, 'what means this?'

l. 9. **fenno** for 'fecero,' 'have made it,'

l. 12. **pantano**, a bog or fen. Perhaps from 'piano' (planus), Low Lat. 'pantanum': cp. Greek *πάτος*. (Diez.)

l. 14. **corresse via**, hastened away. Cp. l. 31. **Snella** is Germ. 'schnell,' quick.

ll. 16, 17. **in quella**, sc. 'ora,' at that moment. **Galeoto** for 'galeotto,' lit. galley-slave: from late Lat. 'galea,' a galley.

l. 19. **a voto**, in vain: a different word altogether from 'voto,' prayer: cp. 'void,' and Lat. 'viduus.' Some say from 'volto,' hollowed out. **Phlegyas**, probably 'the fiery one' (*φλέγω*), from the fact that he burnt Apollo's temple at Delphi: and therefore connected by Dante with the burning city of Dis. Virgil treats him otherwise (Aen. vi. 618).

l. 21. **se non**, 'except while passing': for they were not to repass that flood; but to find a way through the pit of Hell to the mount of Purgatory.

l. 22. **Quale colui** . . . Dante is very fond of such similes (ix. 102, xvii. 85, xxi. 25, xxx. 136, etc). **Quale** is used like Lat. 'qualis' (Hor. Carm. iv. 4. 1) with or without a following 'tale.'

l. 23. **Se ne rammarca**, 'resents it,' lit. laments thereat. 'Rammarcare' seems to be a short form of 'rammaricare,' connected with late Latin 'marrere.' Cp. 'smarrirsi' (v. 72). Diez gives also Goth. 'marzjan,' O. H. G. 'marran,' and Spanish 'maraña,' a maze.

ll. 24-27. **accolta**, gathered. **E sol** . . . : see note to iii. 88. **Parve**, pret. from 'parere.'

ll. 29, 30. 'The ancient prow goes on cutting more of the water than it is wont with others,' i.e. with the shades. See iii. 93. The repetition of the negative is usual in such sentences, as also in French (ix. 15). **Altrui** is not often used with prepositions: cp. xxxi. 81.

l. 31. **morta gora**, stagnant, or 'dead sluice.' **Gora** is properly a mill-sluice: cp. Swiss 'wuor,' and Grison 'vuor' (Eng. 'weir'?), which mean the same.

l. 34. 'If I come, it is not to remain.'

l. 36. 'One who lament'; one of those 'who fixed in the mud say, Sullen were we in the sweet air which rejoices in the sun . . . now brood we sullenly in the black mire' (vii. 121). Such is the 'hymn that they gurgle in their throats.'

l. 38. **ti rimani**, imperative.

l. 39. **Ch'io** . . . 'For I recognise thee, all foul as thou art.' **Ancor**

is used (see on xxxiv. 87) for 'ancorchè,' although. *Sie* for 'sia' or 'sii.' Cp. xiii. 16.

ll. 40, 41. *stese* from 'stendere.' See note on v. 131. *Accorto* perhaps 'having perceived,' as xii. 26, 'E quegli accorto...' But some translate 'the wary master.' For *sospinse* see v. 130. The fem. form *ambe* is unusual.

l. 43. *le braccia*, the pl. of 'il braccio': cp. 'grido' 'strido,' (v. 31), 'ciglio' (viii. 118). See Vergani, iv. *M'avinse*, embraced me (v. 6). Others read 'mi cinse,' which means the same.

l. 45. 'She who bore thee.' (Cl.) 'Incignersi' is perhaps (?) from Greek ἐγκύω, and not from the Latin 'cingere.' (B.) But Latin 'incincta' is evidently the same as Fr. 'enceinte' (lit. 'ungirded').

l. 47. *fregi*, adorns. 'Fregio' (frieze) is used for 'ornament' (xiv. 72). 'When the root of a verb contains the syllable *gi*, *ci*, or *gli*, as *mangiare*, *allacciare*, *sbadigliare*, another *i* is never added in the conjugation.' (Vergani.) The same is the case with verbs in '-io' in Latin. (Madvig, 102). With 'fregiare' are connected Fr. 'friser,' 'fraiser,' Sp. 'frisar,' which mean to 'curl,' or to raise the nap on a cloth. Cp. Eng. 'frizzle,' and 'frieze.'

ll. 48, 49. *s'è*: 'essere' is frequently used with the reflective pronoun, as 'mi sono.' *Si tengono*..., 'hold themselves great kings now above,' i.e. think themselves great persons now on earth. Horace uses 'rex' in the same way. *Si tengono* is an example of the direct middle force of such forms. It might be translated as a middle passive, 'get themselves held,' which amounts to 'are held.' Cp. xxii. 39 and xiii. 88.

l. 51. *lasciando*, leaving behind; sc. on earth.

l. 50. *brago*, mud: Prov. 'brac.'

l. 52. *vago*, lit. wandering; but from the idea of wandering and seeking it comes to mean 'desirous,' 'longing.' (Cp. xxix. 3.)

l. 53. For construction of *attuffare* see v. 26, and below, l. 59. The word is used (in xxi. 56) of cooks submerging bits of boiling meat so as to prevent them from floating. Perhaps connected with Germ. 'taufen.'

l. 56. 'Lets itself be seen by you': see v. 26. *Converrà*..., 'it will be met that thou be gratified in such a wish.'

l. 58. 'I saw such havoc made of him by the slimy people that...' *Strazio* is from the Lat. 'distractio,' a rending asunder. For the active infinitive see v. 26, and cp. above ll. 53, 56. In this case the dative of the indirect object is replaced by 'a.' Such construction is used after 'fare,' 'lasciare,' and verbs of the senses, such as 'sentire,' 'vedere,' 'udire.' Thus 'lascia parlare a me' (xxvi. 73); 'fa dire al falconiere' (xvii. 129). See also xxi. 55, xxix. 117, xxx. 55; and on i. 62, x. 7. In these cases the infinitive seems to be the verbal noun used as the accusative.

l. 61. **A Filippo Argenti.** He was one of the Neri faction, a Florentine noble of the family of Cavicculi Adimari, remarkable for his great strength, his hot temper, and his ostentatious display of wealth. See Boccaccio's *Decameron*, ix. 8.

l. 62. **Bizarro** means 'passionate,' hence 'whimsical.' In Basque 'bizarra' means 'a beard,' which may possibly be from the original meaning of 'manly strength' or 'passion.' (Diez.)

l. 63. 'Turned upon himself with his teeth.' See xxxiii. 58.

l. 64. **chè**, so that.

l. 66. 'Whereat I unbar my eye, intently gazing forward.' **Sbarro**: from some Teutonic word connected with our 'bar' and German 'barre.'

l. 68. **Dite.** Dis is the Latin name of Pluto, the god of the infernal regions. Dante uses **Dite** as a synonym for **Lucifero** (xi. 65, xxxiv. 20). Both the Latin and Greek names signify 'the giver of wealth,' and there seems considerable confusion between Pluto, and Plutus, the god of wealth. Plato says that Pluto was a euphemism for the dread name of Hades. Notice that Dante has placed Plutus also in the preceding circle (vii. 2). Perhaps it was on account of this confusion of the two names. Certainly Plutus, the god of wealth, is well stationed at the circle which contains the avaricious. But it may be doubted whether the word Pluto (vii. 2) is not the Latin form of Plutone, as Dido of Didone (v. 85).

l. 69. **gravi**: perhaps 'laden with guilt' (vi. 86): or more probably 'troublesome,' 'pernicious.' Virgil knows their character; which they soon are about to reveal (l. 82 sq.). **Stuolo** from Greek *στόλος*, a company or throng.

l. 70. **meschita**, for the more modern 'moscheá,' mosque. 'The word "mosques" paints at once to the imagination the City of Unbelief.' (L.)

l. 71. **Là entro** . . . , there within the valley; i. e. in the sixth circle, which lies within the walls.

l. 72. **Di fuoco uscite**: 'Cyclopum educta caminis Moenia.' (Aen. vi. 630.)

l. 75. 'This low Hell.' The Inferno is divided into two regions, upper and lower Hell. The upper consists of the first five circles, and is separated from the lower by the walls of the city. The whole of the lower portion is called the city of Dis. In Canto XI Virgil explains the plan. Cp. l. 108.

l. 76. **pur.** See v. 21. Probably it means here, we *only* arrived at the fosses, and after that had to make a long circuit under the walls before reaching the gates (l. 79). The translations seem to have left it unnoticed. Blanc gives 'nondimeno.'

ll. 77, 78. *terra*: used of a city (v. 97, etc). *Fosse* is thought by many to be a short form of 'fossero': but the construction is probably broken; 'the walls—it appeared to me that it was iron.' Cp. the 'schema Pindaricum' in Greek, *δέδοκται πλήμονες φυγαί*, Eur. Bacch. 1339. In xxix. 39 some read 'Se piu lumi vi fosse,' which would be exactly a parallel case.

l. 83. 'Rained from heaven,' i.e. fallen angels. Cp. xiii. 98, where fortune is said to 'shoot' the souls down into the abyss. *Piovere* is used twice again in this sense: 'I piovvi di Toscano,' I rained down from Tuscany (xxiv. 122), and 'quand io piovvi in questo greppo' (xxx. 95). *Stizzosamente*, wrathfully; from 'stizza' (*στίζω*, instigo?) Cp. xiii. 43, and Introd. p. 1. for words connected with the Greek. See however on xiii. 40 for another derivation.

l. 84. Cp. iii. 88.

l. 88. *Chiusero* (chiudere), lit. closed, i.e. restrained.

l. 89. *Vien* for 'vieni.' 'Come thou alone, and let that one depart.' *Sen*: see v. 13.

ll. 91, 92. 'Alone let him return by his mad path; let him try, if he knows it.' *Pruovi* is the third person imperative.

l. 93. *Scorto* from 'scorgere,' to conduct: but the Crusc. ed. reads 'che gli hai scorta,' in which case 'scorgere' means 'to shew' (?) Cp. i. 9.

l. 94. *lettor*. Dante uses this mode of address five times in the *Inferno*. In Inf. xxii. 118 he varies it, '*O tu che leggi*.'

l. 96. 'Since I believed that I should never return hither,' i.e. to the world. For *ci* see v. 13. Cl. translates 'return by it' (?) *Credetti* or 'credei' is pret. of 'credere.' *Sette* is put for any indefinite number. (Bocc. Com.)

l. 98. *renduta* . . . *tratto*. See note on v. 48.

l. 100. *Non mi lasciar*. See v. 22.

l. 103. *li*, Lat. 'illic': cp. 'lici' (xiv. 84) and 'linci' (illinc).

l. 105. *da Tal*, 'by such a One,' i.e. God. See note to iii. 95.

l. 107. *ciba*, feed it. *Basso*: see l. 75.

l. 111. This explains in *forse*, in perchance, i.e. in doubt; also used in Purg. xxix. 18, 'mi mise in forse,' put me in doubt. In Par. xii. 41 'milizia, ch'era in forse' means 'the host which was in danger. 'Il sì e' l no' in the next line is a similar form of expression.

l. 112. *porse*: v. 108.

l. 113. *non* . . . *guari*, not long. Cp. French 'guère.' From O. H. Germ. 'weigaro.' *Esso* or 'isso' (Par. vii. 92); 'Ces deux pronoms peuvent sans doute venir du latin *ipse*: mais il y a encore plus de vraisemblance à les dire pris de l'ombrien, où ils se retrouvent sans la moindre différence.' (F.)

l. 114. *a pruova si ricorse*, eagerly rushed back; lit. in rivalry, i. e. with emulous speed (*certatim*).

l. 116. 'On the breast,' i. e. in the face of.

l. 117. *Passi rari*, with footsteps far between' (L.); i. e. with slow steps.

l. 118. *rase*, shorn, i. e. deprived, of all boldness. *Le ciglia*, heteroclite plur. from 'il ciglio' (*super-cilium*). 'I cigli' is also used by Dante. Cp. 'le dita' (xxix. 85), 'le Fata' (ix. 97); and see viii. 43.

l. 120. *dolenti*: cp. iii. 1. and ix. 32.

l. 123. 'For I will master the trial, whatever be contrived within for hindrance.' (Cl.) *Difension* has the Latin meaning of 'prohibition.' *S'aggiri*, lit. be gone about.

l. 124. *tracotanza*, arrogance, insolence. From 'tra-' ('trans' or 'ultra'; not 'tra,' 'intra') and Lat. 'cogitantia'; therefore 'overweening thought': cp. 'coto' (xxxi. 77). 'Oltracotanza' is used in the next canto (ix. 93).

l. 125. 'For they used it at a less secret gate'; i. e. at the gates of Hell (iii. 1), where they in vain opposed the descent of Christ, when He came to liberate the saints from Limbo (iv. 53). Ever since that time, says Virgil, that gate has been without bar and bolt.

l. 127. *vedestù*: syncope for 'vedesti tu.' *Morta*, deadly, or dark. Cp. l. 31. 'morta gora.' The inscription is that in iii. ad init.

l. 128. *di qua di lei*, on this side of it, sc. 'la porta.' *L'erta*, the slope (i. 31): from Lat. 'erectus.' The adj. 'erto,' steep, is used xix. 131, xxiv. 63.

l. 130. *Tal*: see l. 105. Here it refers to the angel who is coming to help them. *Ne fia...aperta*, will be opened for us. See v. 135. For *terra* see v. 97.

CANTO IX.

ARGUMENT.

Virgil, seeing Dante pale with fear, endeavours to encourage him with faltering words that only increase his terror. As they wait, looking for One to come to their help, Virgil tells how once before, conjured by dire Erichtho, he had descended to the lowest pit of Hell. While he yet speaks three Furies rise erect from the summit of the tower, and call for Medusa. Dante is told to turn his eyes away lest she should turn him into stone. The Angel now approaches, passing over the marsh of Styx with dry feet, and waving darkness from his face. He rebukes the rebel angels, and opens the gate with a wand. The poets enter the city of Dis and behold the place full of sepulchres filled with fire, and with their lids raised, within which are tormented the arch-heretics. Turning to the right they pass 'between the tortures and the lofty turrets' of the wall.

l. 1. *di fuor mi pinse*, lit. painted outwardly on me; i.e. on my face. Cp. iv. 13-19.

ll. 2, 3. *Veggendo* is in agreement with *mi*: 'when I saw...' *Volta* here means 'turning.' *Il suo nuovo* (sc. 'colore'), 'repressed in him more quickly his new colour' (Cl.), i.e. the pallor of fear on my face banished the pallor of indignation from his.

ll. 4-6. *Come* . . . : see viii. 22. *Chè l'occhio* . . . : cp. 'ma gli occhi vivi Non potean ire al fondo per l'oscuro' (xxiv. 70). *Menare a lunga*: 'the eye could not lead him far.' *Folta* ('voll,' full?) is used of a dense wood (xiii. 7): cp. xxxiv. 75. Diez gives it from Latin 'infultus,' Sicilian 'nfultu,' which would mean 'stuffed in.'

l. 7. *punga* for 'pugna': see v. 11. Cp. with this line viii. 104 and 122.

l. 8. The sentence is broken. *Se non* . . . , 'unless—such a One promised us help—Oh, how weary a time it seems to me till Another come hither.' *Tal* may be Beatrice: but cp. viii. 105, 130. For *altri* see note on iii. 95. *S'offerse* is literally 'promised himself' or 'herself'; as Purg. xxvi. 104, 'm'offersi pronto al suo servizio.'

l. 10. *sì com' ei ricoperse* . . . , 'how he covered the beginning with the rest that came after'; i.e. how he tried to hide the doubt implied in 'se non' by the encouraging words 'tal ne s'offerse.'

l. 13. *dienne*: 'diede a noi, cioè a me: modo frequente in latino.' (Fr.)

ll. 14, 15. *traeva*, drew out; i. e. finished his broken sentence, 'perhaps with a worse meaning than he intended.' See v. 48; and for *non* viii. 30.

l. 16. *conca*, shell; probably meaning a long spiral shell, such as would exactly represent the shape of the Inferno. See v. 2, note. *Questo fondo* . . . : as viii. 75, 'in questo basso Inferno.' It is not, as Longfellow says, that Dante thinks that he is 'already at the bottom.'

l. 18. *cionca*: perhaps a form of 'tronca' (?). It is said to mean 'maimed' or 'crushed,' as a limb or branch may be, without being actually separated from the trunk. Cp. 'ciocco.' The word also means 'drunken,' and is probably derived from the Teutonic, where it has that signification. The first circle 'has for punishment only hope maimed.' See iv. 41, 42, 'only so far afflicted that without hope we live in desire.'

ll. 19, 20. *Di rado*. *Rado* is a form of 'raro': as (iv. 114) 'parlavan rado.' *Nui* for 'noi': cp. 'vui,' v. 95. *Incontra*, happens.

l. 23. *Eriton*, Erichtho, the Thessalian witch, whom, according to Lucan, Sextus Pompeius employed to raise ghosts when he wished to learn the fate of his father's campaign against Caesar (Luc. Phars. vi. 508, sq.). But as the battle of Pharsalia was fought in B.C. 48, and Virgil did not die till B.C. 19, Dante cannot be referring to anything connected with Lucan's description. It is possible that he is alluding to some medieval legend, in which Erichtho, as a very old woman, may have been represented as holding communication with the shade of Virgil, who, during the dark ages, was looked upon as a great magician. Even at the present day he is held to have been such rather than a poet by many of the Neapolitans. The word *quella* does not allow us to suppose that Erichtho is used (as Cl. says) in a general sense; i. e. a generic term for a witch. *Cruda* is Lucan's 'efferæ.'

l. 25. Cp. iv. 52. 'Io era nuovo in questo stato, Quando ci vidi venire un Possente . . .' The descent of Christ into Hell, and the event described in the present passage, are both described as having happened soon after Virgil reached Limbo. *Nuda*, divested.

l. 27. *Per trarne*, to draw out thence. See v. 13. The circle of Judas, or the Giudecca, was the very lowest point of Hell, being the last circlet of Cocytus. In it is Lucifer himself, and traitors are there buried in ice. Who this soul was is not known. Possibly it was Brutus, whom Dante puts into the very mouth of Lucifer (xxxiv. 65).

l. 29. *che tutto gira*, which makes all revolve. Others translate 'which encircles all.' The ninth, or outermost, Heaven (though beyond it 'the Catholics place the Empyrean Heaven,' Convito ii. 4), called the

Crystalline, or the *Primum Mobile* It 'has a very rapid motion, from the fervent desire which every portion of that ninth Heaven has to be commingled with the Heaven of Rest,' and whereby it revolves the inferior Heavens. See Par. xxviii. xxix. and xxx. 107. For this transitive use of 'girare' cp. xv. 95, 'Però giri Fortuna la sua ruota.'

l. 32. *dolente*. See iii. 1, viii. 120.

l. 33. *U' non potemo*. *U'* is an old form for 'ove,' from Lat. 'ubi.' 'Du' is read in some passages for 'dove' (Par. xii. 123, xv. 51). Cp. 'i' for 'ivi' (viii. 4). *Potemo* is a contraction of 'possiamo' (Purg. xi. 8).

l. 34. *mente*, memory; as in iii. 132.

l. 36. *alla cima rovente*, with the glowing summit. Cp. the use of the French 'à.' The construction is much rarer in Italian.

l. 37. 'Where in an instant there were suddenly uprisen...' Notice the force of the definite past tense, and the repetition of *in un punto* ... *ratto*. They were already 'erect' (*dritte*) before he had fully noticed them. Cp. Virgil's description of Tisiphone and the 'fierce band of sisters':

'stat ferrea turris ad auras,
Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta...'

Aen. vi. 554-570.

l. 41. *per crine*, for hair. *Cerasta* is a horned snake. For these various snakes see Milton, Par. Lost, x. 524; Lucan, Phars. vi. 679 and ix. 711; and Dante's imitation of Lucan (xxiv. 85 sq.).

l. 42. *Onde*, whence, i. e. with which.

l. 43. *meschine*, handmaids: 'from the Hebrew *mika*, poor, unfortunate.' (B.) Or, according to Diez, from 'miskin,' Arabic. Cp. 'méchant.' 'A provincialism' (Fr.). 'Meschini' is used of the devil's 'menials' (xxvii. 115). 'Meschino,' 'de Meschines,' and other forms of the word are used as family names. One is found in old charters of the Earls of Chester. The 'queen of eternal lamentation' is Proserpina, wife of Pluto.

l. 45. *Erine*: 'for Erinni.' (Fr.) But the word is written *Ἐρινύες* in the best Greek MSS., according to Liddell and Scott. 'The fierce Erinyes,' i. e. Furies. Euripides seems to be the earliest author who limits their number to three. The names Megaera, Alecto, and Tisiphone were of still later origin.

l. 46. *dal* ..., on the left side. 'Da' is often used in this sense, as Lat. 'ex.' See xxii. 46, note. *Canto*; perhaps from Greek *κανθός*, rim (of eye), Lat. 'canthus,' whence Fr. 'chant' (= champ). But cp. Germ. 'kante.'

l. 48. *e tacque a tanto*, 'and was silent thereupon,' or 'having said so much he was silent.' But the exact meaning is doubtful.

l. 50. *a palme*: 'colle palme delle mani.' (B.)

L. of C.

l. 52. 'Let Medusa come, and so shall we turn him into stone.' *Smalto* (Germ. 'schmelz,' Low Latin 'smaltum'; cp. Eng. 'smelt'), enamel, or cement. It is used of a green meadow, 'sopra 'l verde smalto' (iv. 118). Medusa was the Gorgon slain by Perseus. Her gaze turned all to stone; after her death the head was placed by Athena in the centre of her aegis.

l. 54. For *non* some read 'noi': 'badly did we avenge...' But it is better to translate, 'In evil hour avenged we not...' (L.) Theseus, king of Athens, joined Peirithous in an attempt to carry off Proserpine from the lower world. They failed, and were detained in Hades. But when Hercules descended in quest of Cerberus he released Theseus (Aen. vi. 393-397). The event is alluded to below (l. 98). *Vengiare* is an old form for 'vendere' (xxvi. 34; Par. vii. 51).

l. 56. *il Gorgon*. The masculine is used to signify 'the Gorgon-head.' Thus Poliziano, St. ii. 28, 'Che il casto petto col Gorgon conserva.'

l. 57. Lit. 'There will be nothing of returning'; i.e. no return. 'Niente' is used in the same way, 'di levarsi era niente' (xxii. 143). Cp. Milton's

'Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail,
Or knock the breast.'

l. 58. *Stessi* is for 'stesso,' as 'questi' for 'questo.' (Cp *τοῦτὶ* for *τοῦτο*.)

l. 59. *non si tenne...che*, did not so confine himself to (trust entirely to) my hands as not to... 'Tenersi' is to 'keep to,' as 'tienti col corno,' keep to your horn (xxxi. 71). Cp. also xxii. 112.

ll. 61-63. These verses have been the subject of much controversy and speculation. Perhaps the most reasonable explanation that is offered by such of the commentators who have 'gl'intelletti sani' is that rebellion is the petrifying influence which so hardens the heart of a man that there is 'no more return' for him into the upper world. Some think that it is sensuality. But here, among rebellious angels and arch-heretics, such an influence seems out of place. I think that Dante means to represent that deadly sin of resistance and rebellion against the Holy Ghost, which excludes all hope of forgiveness, all hope of escape from this 'basso Inferno.' Notice too that the rebellious children of Israel 'hardened their hearts.' See Dante's description of the same sin, xi. 46-52. Virgil personifies moral philosophy, that is, human wisdom. See on x. 4.

l. 64. *venia*; for 'veniva,' as 'facea,' 'gia,' etc.

l. 65. *Fracasso*, 'crash'; said to be from 'fra' and the Latin 'quatio.'

l. 67. *non altrimenti fatto*, like; the same as 'sì fatto,' or 'così fatto' (v. 37).

l. 68. *avversi ardori*, opposing heats. The wind is represented as 'rushing towards the rarer, heated air, as if it were a great antagonist.' (Cl.) Cp. xxxiii. 105, and *στάσις ἀντίπνοος ἀνέμων* (Aesch. Prom. Vinct. 1087).

l. 69. *fiere*, strikes; from 'fierere,' an old form of 'ferire.' Cp. x. 69, 135. *Rattento* is a shorter form than the common 'rattenimento.' Translate 'without any stay,' i. e. irresistibly.

ll. 70-72. *schianta*, shatters (xiii. 33); also used of gathering fruit, Purg. xx. 45. Cp. Provenc. 'esclater,' French 'éclater,' O. H. Germ. 'skleizen': probably onomatopoeitic; cp. 'clatter,' 'clap,' *κλαίειν*, etc. Compare these splendid lines with Virgil's description (Georg. i. 318-334). But they have a Homeric grandeur and simplicity. Cp. Il. iv. 276-279. *E porta fuori*, and bears away. Some read 'e portai fiori,' which entirely mars the picture. The expression is evidently adopted from Virgil (Georg. ii. 441): 'Quas animosi Euri assidue franguntque feruntque.'

ll. 73, 74. *il nerbo Del viso*, 'the nerve of vision,' seems to mean the intensity or concentration of one's gaze, 'l'acume del vedere.' *Nerbo* (for 'nervo') is used like the Latin 'acies.' Some take it literally for 'the visual nerve.'

l. 74. *schiuma antica*, ancient foam. *Schiuma* is the Germ. 'schaum.' Beneath the waters of this marsh are people who sigh, and make it bubble into foam on the surface. This foam had collected and formed a decaying mass. *Antica* may, however, merely be applied in a general way to things infernal (iii. 8). Cp. on i. 116, xxxiv. 121.

l. 75. *Per indi*: 'per di là, da quella parte.' (Fr.) *Acerbo*; from the notion of smoke being painful to the eyes, therefore 'dense.'

l. 76. Dante is fond of using frogs in his similes. Cp. xxii. 26, 33; xxxii. 31.

l. 77. *Si dileguan*, scatter themselves; from Latin 'deliquescere.' (Fr.)

l. 78. *s'abbica*, lit. 'makes a stack of himself,' i. e. squats huddled together. *Bica* (O. H. Germ. 'biga,' a heap) is a rick of corn. Cp. 'di sè e d'un cespuglio face un groppo' (xiii. 123). With l. 79 cp. viii. 82.

l. 80. *al passo*, on foot, i. e. not using his wings. Others say 'at the ford.' Cp. i. 26.

l. 81. *Con le piante asciutte*: cp. *χρηλαῖς ἀβρέκτοισιν ἐπ' εὐρέα κύματα βαίνων*, Mosch. i. 114.

l. 83. *Menando*, moving; often used of limbs: xxxi. 96; xxxiv. 63, etc.

l. 85. *messò*, probably a substantive, 'messenger.' Cp. Purg. xv. 30. 'Messo è che viene ...'

l. 86. *fe*, for 'fece' (i. 51, iv. 23, ix. 101, etc.). In *Inchinassi*: 'm'inchinassi.' (Fr.)

l. 89. *Verghetta*, a wand, like that of Mercury, who was also 'del ciel messo' (Hor. Carm. i. 10, 20). Cary quotes Spenser, Faery Queene, iv. 3. 46.

l. 90. 'There was no resistance in it.' *Avere*, is used like 'avoir' (vii. 18, iv. 26). *V'ebbe*, for the commoner expression 'v'era,' there was. *Vi* is here 'ivi,' but in 'v'ha' (l. 96) is for 'voi.' See v. 13.

l. 91. *dispetta*, despised (Lat. *despecta*). *Dispetto* (Lat. subst. 'despectus') is usually a substantive (xiv. 71, xvi. 29).

l. 93. *oltracotanza*: see viii. 124. *Esta*: see xiii. 29. *S'alletta* (lectus), lit. 'beds itself in you,' i. e. dwells in you. (Cl.) Cp. 'Perchè tanta viltà nel cuore allette?' (ii. 122), 'why dost thou entertain (nestle) in thy heart such cowardice?' By others it is taken to mean 'entice,' i. e. give entrance to (allectare).

l. 95. *mozzo* (mutilis?), lit. mutilated. Cp. xiii. 30, and Shakespeare's 'There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will.' 'The angel avoids using the name of God.' (Cl.) For such euphemisms cp. on iii. 95.

l. 97. *nelle fata dar di cozzo*, to butt against the fates. *Fata* is here a plural from 'fato.' Cp. 'le ciglia' (viii. 118). 'Come tuttavia in Toscano *le prata e le tetta*.' (Fr.) Perhaps Dante was thinking of the Latin plural 'fata.' *Cozzo* means 'a butting' (vii. 55). Blanc derives 'cozzare' from Lat. 'cutio,' and Diez from 'co-icere,' but it surely may be the Lat. 'coruscare' (κορύσσεσθαι), which is used with this meaning.

l. 98. *ricordare*, used here as an impersonal. Cp. 'ben ten dee ricordar' (xx. 128).

l. 99. *pelato*, peeled; lit. deprived of hair. This refers to the treatment that he received at the hands of Hercules, who cast a chain about him and dragged him into the upper world (Aen. vi. 395). *Ne*, for it (v. 13).

l. 102. Cp. viii. 22. 'Other...than that of him who is before him.' The majestic grandeur and dignity with which Dante has invested the Angel surpasses anything of the kind that has been described. It is like the 'beautiful disdain' of some Phidian god.

l. 104. *terra*: see v. 97. *Appresso*, after. See on xxxiv. 87.

l. 108. 'The condition which such a fortress encloses.' *Condizione* means the state of the tormented souls within the city. Cp. 'Questo misero modo' (iii. 34), and below, l. 117.

l. 111. *rio* or 'reo' (reus) is used in two senses—wicked, and grievous: here with the latter, and rarer, meaning. Cp. xxii. 64.

l. 112. At Aliscamps (Elysii Campi) the ancient Necropolis of Arles,

where the Rhone begins to form its delta, and 'stagnates,' there are numberless tumuli, which a past tradition asserted to be the graves of Charlemagne's peers and their ten thousand men at arms. See the mythical Life of Charlemagne, attributed to Archbishop Turpin, chh. xxviii, xxx, quoted by Longfellow. And compare

'presso ad Arli, ove il Rodano stagna,
Piena di sepolture è la campagna.'

Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 39, 72.

l. 113. **Pola** is a city of Istria, near the Gulf of Quarnaro, at the northern extremity of the Adriatic. Benvenuto da Imola says there were about seven hundred tombs near the city. (L.)

l. 115. **varo**: only used here by Dante. It probably means 'uneven,' and may be the Lat. 'varus,' crooked, or (according to Blanc) a contraction of **vario**.

l. 118. **avelli**, tombs (Lat. 'alveolus,' a ditch or trough; or 'labelum,' i. e. 'lavellum,' a washing vessel: whence Modenese 'lavello'). **Sparto**, not an uncommon form for 'sparso.'

l. 119. **Del tutto**, throughout, entirely. Cp. 'si travolse del tutto,' entirely twisted round (xx. 17).

l. 120. 'No art, not even the founder's, requires iron more red hot.' Cp. viii. 72.

l. 123. **ben parean**, certainly appeared: cp. l. 85 and 'ben cinq' alle,' certainly five ells (xxxi. 113). **Offesi**: see v. 109.

l. 125. **Arca** is any chest. 'The term is properly applied to the part of a monument in which the bodies are deposited.' (Cl.)

l. 126. **Si fan sentir**. See v. 26.

l. 237. **eresiarche**, for 'eresiarchi'; as 'idolatre,' xix. 113.

ll. 129-132. **che non credi**. See viii. 30. **Simile qui con simile**: i. e. each sect of heretics is buried in a separate part, which is more or less hot in proportion to the malignity of their heresy.

l. 132. **a man destra**. This is almost the only time that they turn to the right, and that only for a time (x. 133). See xvii. 31. Afterwards the descent is made in a leftward slanting direction:

'Pure a sinistra giu calando al fondo'

(xiv. 126. Cp. xviii. 21, xxi. 126, xxiii. 68, xxxi. 83, etc.) Thus by the time that they reach the lowest circle they will have made one spiral circuit round the abyss. They therefore traverse, on an average, a tenth of each circle.

CANTO X.

ARGUMENT.

As they pass by the narrow path between the city walls and the fiery sepulchres of Epicurean heretics, Farinata degli Uberti rises erect from a tomb, and addresses Dante. They converse concerning the great Feud, but are interrupted by another shade, that of Cavalcante, who raises himself on his knees, crying 'Where is my son? and wherefore is he not with thee?' But falsely suspecting from Dante's evasive words and hesitating manner that his son is dead, he falls back again into his flaming tomb. Farinata, who meanwhile had assumed a dignified silence, resumes his conversation, foretelling Dante's banishment, and explaining how the shades know nothing of the present, but 'as one that hath bad sight, see those things which are afar.' Virgil then turns to the left by a path that strikes towards the central abyss.

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1. 1. *sen va*: see on iii. 1, and v. 13.
 1. 2. *Terra*: v. 97. Cp. the last line of preceding canto.
 1. 3. *dopo le spalle*, behind his shoulders, i. e. after him.
 1. 4. *virtù somma*. Virgil personifies human virtue or wisdom. See on ix. 61. This is the wisdom spoken of as '*il ben dell' intelletto*' (iii. 18), that is, the highest wisdom of which the human intellect is capable. Celestial wisdom is embodied in Beatrice (ii. 53), whose guidance is given, when Virgil's fails, at the ascent to Paradise. Virgil is also addressed as '*Savio*,' and '*il mar di tutto 'l senno*' (viii. 7).
 1. 6. *a' miei desiri*, in my wishes: cp. l. 126.
 1. 8. *Potrebbesi veder?* could they be seen? Such expressions as '*si dice*' (when '*dire*' means '*to call*' or '*name*'), '*si vede*,' and the like (when '*si*' is used with an *active* verb), are not really impersonal, but passive, or rather middle, forms, whose subjects may be suppressed. (See Vergani, xviii.) The subject is sometimes expressed, as in '*si teme la povertà*,' '*si cercano ricchezze*' (treasures get themselves sought). Such phrases must not be confounded with real impersonals, such as '*vi ricorda*' (ix. 98). When a neuter verb is used thus it is either in an impersonal expression such as '*si va*' (iii. 1), or '*si dice*' (when '*dire*' means '*to say*'), or else it is closely connected with an active verb, as '*si può veder*.' Now in the latter case '*potere*' is used merely as the conditional auxiliary, and '*può-veder*' may be used with

'si' exactly in the same way as 'teme' above; and as the auxiliary is the only part that changes in the conjugation of the verb 'potere-vedere,' it is easy to see why the infinitive *active* is retained in such cases, when we are obliged to translate by the infinitive passive. In medieval Latin this use of 'posse' or 'potere' is found. 'J'ai trouvé *poteret esse* pour *esset*, comme l'on disait en Italien, *potesse essere* pour *fosse*.' (Fauriel, ii. p. 421.) Cp. on v. 26. Another explanation may be that the infinitive is used as the verb-noun, in which case 'vedere la gente' would be the subject to 'potrebbe.' See on viii. 59.

l. 9. *face*, for 'fa,' as 'faci' for 'fai' (l. 16), 'faccio' for 'fo,' etc. See on i. 35. 'None keeps guard.' This is generally taken to mean 'none of the covers is on its tomb.' *Gia*, already; i. e. before the last day.

l. 11. *Giosaffat*: the valley of Jehoshaphat, where, according to Jews and early Christians, the last Judgment is to be held. At the resurrection every shade would return to the upper world for its body. See v. 102; xiii. 103.

l. 13. *da questa parte*: see on xxii. 46.

l. 14. Epicurus was born at Samos, B.C. 342. He studied at Athens, probably under Xenocrates, when a youth, and taught philosophy for some years at Mitylene and Lampsacus. At the age of thirty-five he returned to Athens and set up a philosopher's school in the celebrated 'Gardens of Epicurus.' He is said to have written 300 volumes. He died in 270 B.C. at the age of seventy-two. Dante has placed him in these fiery torments not so much because of the sensuality of which vulgar opinion accuses him as on account of his materialistic theories, which, as expounded by his follower Lucretius, tend to the denial of another life.

l. 16. *faci* for 'fai': see l. 9.

l. 18. 'And also in the wish of which thou dost not speak to me.' The Lat. 'tacere' is thus used. Cp. xvi. 121, xix. 39. The wish was to see Farinata; for Dante had asked Ciaccio concerning him and others (vi. 84),

'Chè gran disio mi stringe di sapere

Se'l ciel gli addolcia, o l'Inferno gli attosca'—

and he had been told that he should see them in the lower Hell.

l. 21. *non pur ora*, 'not only now.' See v. 21 for 'pur.' Virgil had 'disposed him to speaking briefly' more than once already (iii. 51 and 76.) Some read 'mô' for 'ora.' It is a short form of Lat. 'modo,' now.

l. 23. *ten vai*, v. 13. 'Speaking thus reverently': referring to the respectful manner in which Dante addresses Virgil as his 'Good Leader.'

l. 26. *natio* (nativus), native: as 'loco natio' (xiv. 1). Florence is the 'noblest of all Italian cities,' according to Boccaccio.

l. 27. forse fui troppo molesto, 'I was perchance too destructive.' Ten thousand Guelphs are said to have perished on the Arbia. 'Of the Florentines alone more than two thousand five hundred were slain, and there was no family which did not lose one of its members.' (Sismondi, ii. 4.)

l. 28. uscío for 'usci,' the 'o' being added for the sake of rhyme. 'Uscie' is also used (xxvii. 78). For *arche* see ix. 125.

l. 32. The Uberti were the principal Ghibelin family of Florence. Indeed they may be said to have been the originators of that party; for it was by favour shown to the Uberti by Frederick II that the imperial and papal feud was grafted on the existing divisions of Florence. (See *Intro.* p. xxix). In 1258 the Ghibelins being accused of treason, and having had recourse to arms, were ejected from their city, and took refuge in Sienna. Manfred, King of Naples, sent troops to assist them, and the Pisans also contributed three thousand men to the allied army. In 1260 the Florentines in great force invaded the Siennese territory, but, owing chiefly to the treachery of Bocca degli Abbati, who cut down the standard-bearer of his own company (xxxii. 80), they were routed at Monte Aperto, near the Arbia, with such immense loss that the survivors did not dare to return to Florence. After the victory the Ghibelins met at Empoli and decreed that Florence should be razed to the ground, but Farinata strongly opposed the decision and saved his native city. Dante easily forgave the enemy of his ancestors; for had he not been the enemy of Guelphs, and had he not saved from destruction that bel San Giovanni, which the poet loved so dearly? It is not for treason, nor for sedition, that he is in this circle of Hell, but because his voluptuous habits (according to Boccaccio) entitled him to a place among the Epicurean heretics.

l. 35. s'ergea, raised himself. 'Ergere' is a contracted form of 'erigere': cp. 'surgere' and 'porgere' both in Italian and Latin ('porgite,' Virg.).

l. 36. 'As if he held Hell in great disdain.' Notice how wonderfully the proud and self-reliant character of Farinata is brought out in all his words and bearing. See l. 73 sq.

l. 38. pinser, thrust: 'pingere' for the more usual 'spingere.'

l. 39. conte, lit. known (cognitus) as in iii. 76. Here it means 'clear and concise'; or, as Boccaccio says, 'well-ordered.' Cp. l. 21, and xxxiii. 31.

l. 42. gli maggior tui. Dante's ancestors, the Aldighieri, were Guelphs. See *Intro.* p. xxxiv.

l. 44. Non gliel celai, I hid it not from him. Where *gli* is followed by 'lo,' 'la,' 'li,' 'le,' or 'ne,' an 'e' is added to it for the sake of euphony. (Vergani, x.)

l. 45. For *le ciglia* see viii. 118. *Soso* is an old form for 'suso.' He lifts his eyebrows a little in disdain at the mention of Dante's ancestors—perhaps even feigning ignorance of them at first.

l. 47. *primi*, ancestors. Brunetto Aldighieri, Dante's uncle, was at the battle of Monte Aperto, and was one of the guard of the Carroccio (xxii. 7).

l. 48. *gli dispersi*, I scattered them; i. e. drove them from Florence. The first occasion was in 1248, when Frederick II stirred up strife in the city by intriguing with the Uberti, who, being the leaders of the Ghibelin faction, suddenly took up arms and succeeded in expelling their opponents (see Hist. Sketch). The second was after the battle of Monte Aperto in 1260. The exiles returned in 1251, and 1266. See 'Dante's Life.'

l. 51. 'But yours have not well learnt that art.' *Appreser*, pret. of 'apprendere'; used in a different sense in v. 100. This answer of Dante is intended merely for a taunt; but we know what bitter irony dictated them to the exiled poet, himself then a professed Ghibelin.

l. 52. 'Then arose to my sight a shade, beside that (other shade), uncovered as far as to the chin.' The conversation of Dante and Farinata is interrupted by this sudden appearance, and is not resumed till l. 76. The contrast between the proud and reserved bearing of Farinata, and the passionate and impetuous manner of Cavalcante, makes this episode one of the most striking in the whole of the Divine Comedy. Every line, almost every word, in the two descriptions bears out the contrast. For instance, contrast 35 and 54; 41 and 55; 41 and 58; 67 and 75; 72 and 121.

l. 54. *inginocchion*, on his knees. Cp. 'carpone,' on all fours (xxv. 151).

l. 55, 56. *talento*, desire (v. 39). *Altri* means his son Guido.

l. 60. *perchè non è teco?* Cavalcante asks why his son is not with Dante, because in life they were as friends not divided, and if 'by height of genius' the one could descend into Hell, the other would not have remained behind. 'Étonné que, dans une carrière de gloire, il ne soit pas placé à côté du Dante.' (Sism. Hist. Rep. It. ii. x.)

l. 62. 'He who waits there leads me through this place, whom perchance thy Guido held in contempt' (cp. l. 36). Guido Cavalcanti, son of this Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, was a philosopher, a lyric poet, the son-in-law of Farinata, and a great friend of Dante. He was a violent Ghibelin, and was one of those who were banished during Dante's priorate. His premature return from exile through the connivance of his friend helped to aggravate the charges brought against Dante. What is meant by his holding Virgil in disdain is not quite clear. In the Vita Nuova Dante tells us that Guido preferred the vulgar to the Latin tongue. But this is scarcely enough. As a poet and as a Ghibelin

Guido could hardly have despised Virgil. Perhaps it refers to his unseemly party spirit, which condemned that wisdom of which Virgil was the emblem (x. 4). For details concerning Guido see Longfellow's note; Boccaccio's *Decameron*, G. vi. N. 9; Sismondi, ii. x.

l. 64. *modo*: cp. iii. 34, ix. 108, v. 102.

l. 66. 'Wherefore my answer was so full.' Dante had fully recognised Cavalcante, so that he could at once answer him certainly and without hesitation about the fate of his son.

l. 68. *Egli ebbe?* 'He had?' This refers to Dante's words in l. 63. Cp. 'fui,' l. 68; Lat. 'fuit,' 'he was,' sc. and is no more. 'Troja fuit,' 'Nos fuimus Troes.' Guido died in December 1300, and therefore was alive at this time. He was allowed to return from exile on account of his bad health in 1300. See p. xxxviii.

l. 69. *Fiere*, strikes: from 'ferire' (ix. 69). Cp. the change in 'fera,' 'fiera,' 'fele,' 'fiele.' Another form of the third pers. sing. is 'fiede' (l. 135). See also l. 82. *Lome* is for 'lume'; as 'soso' for 'suso' (l. 45).

l. 71. Dante explains later (ll. 112-114) why he hesitated to reply. It was from surprise that Cavalcante did not know the present condition of his son, while Ciaccio (vi. 64) had even foretold future events. *Fuora*, 'fuore,' 'fuori,' and 'fuor' are all used by Dante.

l. 73. *a cui posta*. *Posta* means 'position.' 'A posta' is 'in position.' Thus 'tenere gli occhi a posta' (xxix. 19), to keep the eyes fixed. Hence it means 'deliberately,' with intention or purpose. The word seems here to have a meaning not unlike this, viz. 'inclination' or 'desire.' 'A tua posta' is used in the same way (xvi. 81). For *cui* see v. 19.

l. 76. *continuando al primo detto*, continuing his former speech (cp. viii. 1), i.e. continuing his conversation, which had been interrupted by Cavalcante (l. 51). He repeats Dante's ironical expression 'non appresser ben quell' arte.'

l. 77. *Egli*, a short form of 'eglino.' Some read 'elli' (Lat. *illi*) in such cases.

l. 79. 'Not fifty times shall the face of the lady who reigns here be relit.' The mysterious goddess Hecate became identified with several divinities, especially with Selene, Artemis and Persephone. Hence she was called 'triformis' or 'tergemina,' and in a threefold character usurped the names of Selene in heaven, of Artemis on earth, and of Persephone in the lower world. Thus Farinata speaks of the moon (Selene) as the 'lady who reigns here' (Persephone). Some conceive these words to predict the rash and ineffectual attempt made by Bascheira di Tosinghi, in July 1304. Florence had been ex-

communicated by Cardinal Prato, the Pope's legate, who had been sent from Rome in the spring of that year to establish order. On account of his Ghibelin tendencies he had been badly received, and having left the city in great anger, induced the banished party to attempt a forcible return. In this project they were joined by the Ghibelins of Bologna, Pistoia and other cities. But Baschiera's ill-advised rashness made the enterprise miscarry, although the exiles were actually allowed to enter the city, and to take up a position in the piazza of San Marco (Machiavelli says San Giovanni). See Sismondi, *Hist. Rep. It.* ii. xi.; Macch. *Hist. Flor.* ii. 5; Villani, viii. 92. But from March 1300 to July 1304 is a period of more than fifty months. Moreover Dante is said to have been opposed to the attempt. The passage therefore probably refers to the fruitless embassy on which Cardinal Prato was sent by the unfortunate Benedetto XI during the spring of 1304.

l. 81. Notice *tu*, not 'voi.' Dante by this time (1304) held aloof from both parties, and his demand that he might return to his native city was founded wholly on personal grounds. See his letter, *Introd.* p. xliii. *Quanto . . . pesa*, how much it weighs, i. e. how hard it is.

l. 82. *se tu*, so mayest thou. *Se* is used as Lat. 'sic' (Hor. *Carm.* i. 3. 1) in adjurations. Cp. l. 94, xiii. 85, xxx. 34. *Regge*, return; from 'reddire' an old form of 'riédere': cp. 'vegga,' subj. of 'vedere' (i. 134, xvi. 119). *Dolce mondo* as 'dolce lome' (l. 69). Carlyle quotes 'a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun,' Eccles. xi. 7.

l. 83. *empio* here means 'cruel,' 'devoid of natural affection' (Lat. *im-pius*). 'Quando fiebat aliqua reformatio de bannitis reducendis, vel simile, semper excipiebantur Uberti et Lamberti.' (Benv. da Imola: quoted by Fr.)

l. 85. *scempio*, slaughter (Lat. *exemplum*?) The Arbia is a small stream near Sienna. For the battle on the Arbia see l. 32; and the fine passage in Sismondi (*Hist. Rep. It.* ii. 4): Malespina, c. 167.

l. 87. 'Causes such orisons to be made in our temple,' i. e. such decrees in our council. Or it may be taken more literally, for before the building of the palace (Macch. ii. 3) the government held its councils in the churches. See on xix. 17. For *fa far* see v. 26.

l. 91. 'But I was alone there, where it was suffered by every one to extirpate Florence,' i. e. where all consented that Florence should be destroyed. See note to l. 32.

l. 93. *Colui*, like Lat. 'ille': 'he who defended her with open face,' i. e. publicly.

l. 94. *Se riposi mai . . .*, 'requiescat': see line 82. *Mai* in both passages is 'ever,' not, as commonly, never.

l. 96. *Inviluppata*, involved ('involvere'; cp. 'volubilis'). Cp. 'd'error la testa cinta' (iii. 31).

l. 97. **E'** par, it seems. **Ei** is here used as a neuter. 'That ye see beforehand that which time brings with it.' This refers to the predictions which he had heard from Ciacco (vi. 64).

l. 99. 'And hold another manner in (or with regard to) the present.' See l. 71.

l. 100. **Mala luce** is generally taken to mean 'imperfect sight,' such as the aged have, who can see what is at a distance better than what is near. This doubtless makes the best sense. The word 'luci' is used for the eyes by Dante (xxix. 2, etc.), and 'luce' is used for the faculty of mental vision (Purg. xviii. 16). It is moreover false that things afar off are seen better than those near in 'a bad light'—a delusion which indeed Dante exposes by words in xxxi. 23.

l. 102. 'So much does the Supreme Guide still shine on us'; i. e. so much light does God still grant us.

l. 103. 'When they draw nigh, or are,' i. e. when events are just about to happen, or are actually happening. For **altri** see iii. 95. Here it means any of the newly dead.

l. 107. **Fia**, used for 'sarà' (Lat. fiet), v. 135. The moment when the gate of the future shall be closed is the last day. Cp. l. 10.

l. 110. **quel caduto**, i. e. Cavalcante (l. 72). The fault for which Dante was vexed was that he had allowed his surprise to mislead Cavalcante, for Guido was not dead but 'joined to the living.' See l. 68.

l. 113. **Fate i saper**, let him know. 'Ei' or 'li,' is used for the dative singular, as 'cortese i fu' (ii. 17). 'E' 'li,' 'gli,' (x. 48) and 'i' (v. 78) are all used for acc. plur. For the dative after 'fate' see v. 26. **Fei** for 'feci.'

l. 113. **più avaccio**, more hastily. Cp. xxxiii. 106. **Starsi**: this reflective form is used also in xix. 97, Purg. xxii. 85, etc. with the meaning 'to be placed' or 'remain,' as in 'sono stato.' Cp. 'essersi.'

l. 119. Frederick the Second, the grandson of Barbarossa, and son of Henry VI, was born in 1194, and succeeded to the kingdom of Apulia and Sicily in 1198, on the death of his mother Constance. He reigned 'thirty-one years as emperor, thirty-eight as king of Germany, and fifty-two as king of the two Sicilies' (Sism. Rep. It. ii. 2). For the character of this very extraordinary prince see Sismondi (ref.) and his quotations from Villani and Jamsilla; and Freeman's Historical Essays, x. His indulgence in an Eastern voluptuousness, his sceptical philosophy, and the course of open enmity which he took against the Popes, earned him his place among Epicurean heretics. See Introduction, p. xxii. ref. 'Him alone of all the imperial line Dante, the worshipper of the Empire, must perforce deliver to the flames of Hell.' (Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, chap. xiii.)

l. 120. **il Cardinale.** Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, lord of various castles in Mugello, a Tuscan province, was created Cardinal by Innocent IV in 1245. He gained great power at the court of Rome, and was a violent partisan of the Ghibelin faction. His political and religious belief is briefly summed up in a saying attributed to him by the commentators: 'Se anima è, io l'ho perduta pe' Ghibellini.' (Fr.) **Taccio** from 'tacere.' Cp. 'piaccio,' 'giaccio.'

l. 123. **nemico**, hostile, [The tone of Farinata's predictions had been unfavourable to Dante.

l. 126. **satisfeci al suo dimando**: see l. 6.

l. 127. **mente**, memory; as iii. 132.

l. 128. **Contra**, against, i. e. evil predictions. For **Saggio**, see on i. 89.

l. 129. 'And lifted his finger.' Virgil either points to Heaven, where Beatrice is, or he merely enjoins attention. (Fr.) From Purg. viii. 97, 'E drizzò 'l perchè in là guatasse,' it seems that the former is the right explanation.

l. 131. Beatrice represents that Celestial Wisdom which 'seeth all.'

l. 133. **a man sinistra**: see ix. 132. **Appresso** is here an adverb, and may equal 'appressochè' (see on xxxiv. 87). 'After he had turned ... we left ...'

l. 135. **fiede**, strikes. An old form, from 'ferire.' Cp. 'fiere,' ix. 69 and x. 69.

l. 136. 'Which even up there made its stench to be displeasing.' They leave the path beneath the walls and strike leftwards across the circle till they arrive at the precipitous descent of the central abyss (the 'valley'). **Lezzo**, probably from 'olere,' for 'olezzo': cp. 'orezzo' and 'rezzo.'

CANTOS XI, XII.

ARGUMENT.

The poets, after crossing the sixth circle, find themselves on the brink of the central abyss, from which such a fetid odour rises, that they take refuge behind a great tomb, inscribed with the name of Pope Anastasius. Here they wait till 'the sense be a little accustomed to the evil blast,' and meantime Virgil explains how the next circle contains the violent, and is divided into three rings, the first of which holds those who have done violence to their neighbours, the second those who have laid violent hands on themselves, and the third those who have denied and blasphemed the Deity.

This seventh circle is that of 'malizia,' and forms the whole of the

second region of the lower Hell. It is separated from the upper circles and from those below it by steep precipices. After explaining these various grades, and bitterly denouncing the unnatural sin of usury, his guide reminds Dante that it is near sunrise, 'for the Fishes are quivering on the horizon, and the Wain lies wholly over Caurus.' Therefore they begin to descend the crags. On the topmost ridge the Minotaur lies extended, and gnaws himself, plunging about like a wounded bull, when he sees the two approach. Taking advantage of his blind fury they pass, and reach a river of boiling blood which embraces all the plain of the seventh circle. In it are immersed the violent who have injured their fellow men. Around the banks Centaurs 'go by thousands,' piercing with arrows those who 'thrust themselves out of the blood further than their crimes allot': for they are placed in deeper or shallower parts according to their guilt. Chiron, who is at first alarmed at perceiving that Dante moves the loose stones beneath his feet, is pacified by Virgil, and sends Nessus to escort them to the ford and to carry Dante across on his back.

CANTO XIII.

ARGUMENT.

The second ring of the seventh circle, containing those who have done violence against themselves. The wood of bleeding trees, sprung from the souls of suicides, among the branches of which the Harpies make their nest, and utter wailing cries. Dante breaks off a twig, and is reproachfully addressed by the soul of Pietro delle Vigne, minister of Frederick II, who explains how the trees are sprung from the 'fierce spirits of suicides.' With crashing noise two forms burst through the wood pursued by black hounds, and one, who takes refuge in a bush, is torn to pieces. The bush, being cruelly broken by their struggle, laments woefully, and, when addressed by Virgil, begs him to collect at its base the scattered leaves. It then relates how it is the soul of a Florentine condemned for self-murder.

l. 1. *di là*, at the other side. Nessus had carried Dante across the river of blood, and was returning to the first ring of the circle.

l. 4. The idea of these bleeding trees is borrowed from Virgil (*Aen.* iii. 22-49), but it has been greatly enlarged by Dante. Schietti, smooth,

used of a smooth straight reed, 'un giunco schietto' (Purg. i. 95), and of a road (Purg. xiii. 8). Poliziano also uses the word in this sense 'L'abeto schietto e senza nocchi.' It is evidently, as the Germ. 'schlicht,' from Goth. 'slaihts.'

1. 6. **tosco**, poison, from Lat. 'toxicum' (τοξικόν): originally meaning the poison in which arrows were dipped. **Stecco** (Germ. 'stechen'; cp. 'Stechapfel'), a thorn. **Pomi** are 'fruits,' not merely apples (cp. Lat. 'poma'). **L.** translates 'apple-trees' (?)

1. 7. **folti**, dense (see ix. 6, note). 'Not so rough and dense are the thickets held by those wild beasts which hate the cultivated places.' Cecina is a stream which flows through the district of Volterra, and falls into the sea below Livorno. Corneto is a small town not far north of Civita Vecchia. Between these two lies the Maremma, a region of marshes and pestilential malaria. In ancient times (as was also the case with Paestum and many other places) it was a fertile and healthy district, a great part of which was farmed by disbanded veterans of the Roman army. Populonia, which before its destruction by Sulla had been for centuries an important emporium of commerce, lay in the very midst of this now depopulated country. In Dante's time the thick overgrowth of forest was haunted by wild beasts, and the fens teemed with snakes (xxv. 19). 'Cultivated places' here and there relieved the horrid scene; but the peasant who descended in the day to till the fields would at night take refuge in the uplands. See xxvi. 25 and xxix. 48. Forsyth says: 'The Casentine peasants still migrate hither in the winter to feed their cattle... when summer returns, they decamp, but often too late: for many leave their corpses on the road, or bring home the Maremmian disease.' A great part of this region has now been reclaimed by drainage. Cp. Hor. Epod. i. 27, 'Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum Lucana mutet pascuis'; and Carm. i. 31. 5.

1. 10. For the description of the Harpies, and how the ominous words uttered by Celaeno scared the Trojans from the Strophades, see Virg. Aen. iii. 209-269, Ap. Rhod. ii. 182. The Strophades are small islands in the Ionian Sea, off the west coast of the Peloponnesus.

1. 13. **late**, broad. **Lato** is the Latin 'latus,' and is an antique form not now in use.

1. 15. **strani**, strange. Some take 'lamenti strani' together. Perhaps it is better to translate the words in their natural order.

1. 16. **entre** for 'entri,' as 'spoltre' for 'spoltri' (xxiv. 46), 'sie' for 'sii' (viii. 39).

1. 17. **Girone**, augmentative form of 'giro,' a circle, or ring.

1. 18. 'Until thou shalt come to the terrible sand,' i.e. to the third ring (xiv). **Mentre**: see xxxiii. 132.

1. 21. 'Things which shall give credence to my speech.' The Cruscan

ed. reads 'torrien fede,' which would mean 'would take credence from.' But this is absurd, as is clearly proved by lines 48-51. If 'torrien' be read, it will be necessary to accept the Nidobeatine reading of l. 21, 'Però riguarda bene se vederai.' (B.) Virgil refers to his description of the bleeding saplings which Aeneas tore from the tomb of Polydorus. (See l. 4.)

A mound was nigh, where spearlike wood
Of cornel and of myrtle stood.

I sought it, and began to spoil
Of that thick growth the high-heaped soil
And deck the altars with its green,
When lo! a ghastly sight was seen.
Soon as a tree from earth I rend,
Dark flowing drops of blood descend,

And stain the ground with gore:
Fear shakes my frame from head to foot;
A second sapling I uproot,
Resolved to pierce the mystery dark;
See, trickling from a second bark

Blood follows as before!...

But when the third tall shaft I seize,
And 'gainst the hillock press my knees,—
Speak shall I or be mute?—

E'en from the bottom of the mound
Is heard a lamentable sound:

'Why thus my frame, Aeneas, rend?
Respect at length a buried friend,

Nor those pure hands pollute.

Trojan, not alien is the blood
That oozes from this uptorn wood.
Fly this fell soil, these greedy shores;
The voice you hear is Polydore's.

From my gored breast a growth of spears
Its murderous vegetation rears.' (Conington's transl.)

l. 22. *tragger*, i.e. 'trarre': a form of the infinitive taken from the pres. 'traggo.' Speaking of such changes as that of 'h' into 'g,' Fauriel says, 'Cette peculiarité se rencontre déjà dans le latin barbare des viii^e et ix^e siècles. On y trouve *retragendum* pour *retrahendum*: *substragere* pour *substrahere*.' For the construction see v. 26. *Persona* is here used, like the French 'personne,' with a negative particle. (Cp. *Purg.* xxii. 135.)

l. 25. 'Artificio di parole che gli antichi stimavano di qualche vaghezza. Se ne compiacquero anche il Petrarca e l'Ariosto: ma in ciò

non sono da imitarsi.' (Fr.) Cp. the play on words in ll. 70-72. **Cre-**
desse for 'credessi' (l. 16). Notice the sequence of moods.

l. 26. **bronchi**, trunks or branches, perhaps from Prov. 'bruc,' a stump: cp. 'brechen,' break, etc.

ll. 27-29. **per noi**, in fear of us. **Esto** (Lat. iste) is an old form of 'questo': cp. ix. 93 and l. 73.

l. 30. **monco** (Lat. mancus), lit. maimed. 'The thoughts that thou hast will all be imperfect,' i.e. will be proved vain. Cp. ix. 95. 'A cui non puote 'l fin esser mozzo.'

l. 32. **pruno**, thorn. The word seems to be used by Dante to represent the unprofitable barrenness of a life: as (Par. xxiv. 3) 'Che fu già vite, ed ora è fatta pruno.' Cp. l. 6 and l. 108.

l. 33. **schiante** for 'schianti' (cp. l. 16 and 25). 'Why dost thou break me? Cp. ix. 70. **Da che** . . . , 'after it had become dark with blood.' See v. 109.

l. 35. **scerpi**. The form 'scerpere' is given by the dictionaries; but 'scerpere' is probably (at least in old writers) more correct; i.e. Lat. 'discerpere.' (B.) See v. 131. For **pietade** cp. iii. 60.

l. 37. 'And now are turned into trunks.' **Sem** is for 'siamo' (iii. 16).

l. 38. **Ben**: cp. ix. 85. **Pia**, merciful (v. 117). The word is used (as is also 'pietà') in the two significations of piety and pity. Cp. the uses of Lat 'pius' and 'pietas'; as in the corresponding passage of Virgil, 'parce pias scelerare manus' (Aen. iii. 42).

l. 40. **tizzo** or 'stizzo' is a firebrand. The former is used in Purg. xxv. 23, 'al consumar d'un tizzo.' Some MSS. read 'tizzon.' It is the Low Latin 'titio.' 'Titionem vulgus appellat extractum foco torrem semiustum, extinctum.' (Lactant.) Cp. 'stizza,' viii. 83, note.

l. 41. **gemere**, to groan or weep, takes from the latter idea the signification 'to drop,' or 'trickle.' **Cigolare**, to hiss; but in xxiii. 102 of solid bodies creaking. Cp. Sophocles' description (of a sacrifice that would not ignite)—

'And Hephaestus' flame
Shone not from out the offering; but there oozed
Upon the ashes, trickling from the bones,
A moisture; and it smouldered and it spat,
And lo! the gall was scatter'd to the air.'

(Antig. 1008, tr. Plumptre).

l. 43. **scheggia**, splinter; from Lat. 'schidia' ('scindula,' $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta$: cp. Germ. 'scheit,' 'scheiden'). It is used both of wood, and also, more commonly by Dante, of broken rock, in which meaning 'scheggio' is more usual (xviii. 71, xxvi. 17; cp. xxi. 60). Fauriel considers that many of these words, which are connected with the Greek, come from

the Marseillais through the Provençal, and not through the Latin form. He gives 'skizar' (déchirer) as an example. See p. 1.

ll. 46-48. See l. 21. *Lesa* (ledere) wounded; cp. 'anime offense' (v. 109). *Pur*, 'only in my poem,' i.e. not actually (v. 21). *Savio*, sage: cp. i. 89 and x. 4.

l. 51. 'Made me incite him to an action, which is grievous to me myself.' *Ovra* is a poetic form of 'opera.' *Pesa*, lit. 'weighs on me': cp. 'Mi pesa sì ch' a lagrimar m' invita' (vi. 59) and x. 81.

l. 53. See xxxi. 125, xxxii. 91.

ll. 55-57. *adeschi*, thou allurest. 'Adescare' and 'invescare' both mean 'to entice by a bait,' from 'esca,' a bait. Cp. Lat. 'inescare,' and the form 'vescor.' Others imagine 'invescare' to be from 'viscum,' bird-lime, and the law of rhyme favours this. See iii. 93. *Non gravi...*, 'let it not be grievous to you because I entice myself a little to discourse.' Cp. 'pesa' (l. 51).

l. 58. Piero delle Vigne, or Peter de Vineâ, the favourite minister of Frederick II, was accused of treacherous conduct at the Council of Lyons (1245), and, according to some, of an attempt to poison his master. The story that Dante followed was that he committed suicide—probably by dashing his head against the wall of his prison. But 'immortal verse has saved the fame of De Vineâ': according to the poet he was the victim of wicked and calumnious jealousy (Milman, Lat. Christ. v. 499). His life had been very fully written by M. Bréholles. The expression 'ambo le chiavi,' seems to have been suggested by the keys of St. Peter, with whom Peter de Vineâ was often compared by his contemporaries. 'The parallel between Simon Peter and his master, and Peter de Vineâ and his master, shocks the taste of our times, but it was thoroughly in the taste of the thirteenth century. Peter is to go on the water to his master; he is converted and he is to strengthen his brethren; his master has committed to him the trust to feed his sheep, and to bear the keys of his kingdom. All these, and other expressions of the same kind, are found in the original documents collected by M. Bréholles.' (Freeman, Hist. Essays, x.) His Latin compositions, especially his satiric 'Rhythmus' and his epistles, are well known. (See Fauriel, ii. p. 389, and Giuseppe de Blasiis, Vita ed opere di P. V., and Symonds, Study of Dante, p. 259.)

l. 60. *sì soavi*, so softly: some take *soavi* as an adverb in this passage: see xix. 131. *Segreto* is used thus in Purg. xx. 96, 'nel tuo segreto.'

l. 63. *le vene e i polsi*. The same expression occurs in i. 90. Some MSS read *sonno* instead of *vene*, and translate 'sleep and life.' *Ne*, thereby.

l. 65. *putti*, venal. This 'common death, the vice of courts' is

envy. By Caesar and Augustus is meant Frederick II, who, at least by the Ghibelins, was held to be the representative of the Caesars, and the divinely appointed Vicar of God in all things temporal. For **morte** Cl. quotes 'Through envy of the Devil came death into the world' (Wisd. ii. 24).

l. 67. Notice the play on words in the next few lines—an affectation to which Dante sometimes condescends. Cp. l. 25; v. 56, 137; Purg. v. 134, etc.

l. 69. 'That my joyous honours were changed to dismal sorrows.' (Cl.) **Tornare in** is used similarly in xxvi. 136, 'tornò in pianto.'

ll. 70-72. **gusto**, lit. taste; here it seems to mean 'longing' or 'desire.' Translate 'through my disdainful longing.' **Disdegno** in the next line is the disdain or contempt of others. By committing suicide, although he was innocent, he 'became unjust against' himself. See l. 58.

l. 73. **nuove**. By this my new form of being. He swears as a man would swear by his own life. (Fr.) The word has the force of 'unusual,' 'strange' ('strani,' l. 15), like the Latin 'novus' and Greek νέος. For **esto** see l. 29.

l. 77. **giace . . . del colpo**, is laid low by the blow. **Le** for 'lei' (iii. 55).

l. 79. **Da che**, whilst: see l. 34. **Non perder l'ora**, lose not the opportunity.

l. 82. **lui**; i.e. Virgil. 'Do thou ask him further of that which thou believest would satisfy me.' See x. 6. **M'accora**, afflicts my heart. Dante felt sympathy with Piero, for he too knew the power of envy and slander. Cp. v. 140.

l. 85. **Se**: see x. 82. Virgil calls Dante l'uom because he is a living being ('anima viva,' iii. 88).

l. 88. **dirne**, to tell us (v. 13). **Si lega**, is bound, or 'gets bound.' (Cl.) The force of the reflective is almost entirely passive here. See x. 7 and i. 62.

l. 96. **Minòs**: v. 4. **Foce** (Lat. fauces), lit. 'throat,' i.e. abyss or gulf. **Scelta** from 'scegliere' (Lat. seligere). 'No part is chosen for it,' no place assigned to it.

l. 98. **balestra**, shoots, or hurls; from Lat. 'ballista,' a catapult for throwing huge stones.

l. 100. **vermena**, a sapling; probably from Lat. 'verbenae,' boughs of olive, etc., used in sacrificial rites. For the Harpies see on l. 10.

l. 102. 'Give pain and to the pain an outlet' (Cl.); i.e. by biting off the twigs and 'dusky foliage' they make a vent for the 'parole e sangue' (l. 44).

l. 103. 'As the rest we shall go for our spoils, but not that any shall revest himself in them.' Cp. x. 11 and v. 102. For **spoglie** cp. iii. 114.

l. 105. *si toglie*, deprives himself. 'Togliersi' generally means 'to remove oneself' (xvii. 101). See on i. 62. In xxii. 85, '*denaro si tolse*' is 'he took money for himself.' In the present signification the commoner form would be '*togliere a se*.'

l. 106. *trascinare*, a long form of '*trarre*.' Some read '*strascinaremo*' ('*distrahere*'?).

l. 108. 'To the thorny tree of its tormented shade' (Cl.); *molesta* being equivalent to '*molestata*' ('*lesa*,' '*offesa*,' l. 47). But it is perhaps better to take the word in an active sense, '*suicidal*.' For *pruno* see l. 32.

l. 113. *posta* (see x. 73), position; i.e. where he is waiting while the dogs draw the covert. Cp. with these lines Homer, Il. xii. 146 sq., where two wild boars are described bursting through the thickets, when they hear the tumult of dogs and men approach.

l. 116. *graffiati*, torn or scratched (O. H. G. '*krafo*,' a hook; cp. '*grapple*,' and Grk. *γράφειν*). Cp. xxxiv. 59.

l. 117. *rosta*, fan; i.e. bough. Those who cannot see how a leafy branch can be called a 'fan,' give the word the meaning of '*impediment*.' Milton uses the expression in a still more imaginative manner:

'the only sound
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan.'

(Par. Lost, v. 5.)

Rompieno for '*rompevano*.'

l. 119. 'Who thought *himself* too slow.' (Cl.) This was Jacopo de Sant' Andrea. See l. 134. *Lano* was, according to Boccaccio, a young Sienese who squandered a large fortune; he then joined an expedition of Florentines against the Aretines, and perished in a skirmish near Toppo (1280). It seems that he might have saved himself by flight, but preferred death to a life of poverty. These two represent the class of those who have done violence to themselves by wasting their substance. *Lano* is said to have been one of the members of the Sienese '*brigata spendereccia*' (see xxix. 125).

l. 121. *giostre*, jousts; i.e. skirmish. *Lena*, breath; by transposition of letters from Lat. '*anhelitus*': 'in more ancient writers the form *alena* is found.' (B.) See on i. 22.

l. 123. 'Of himself and a bush made one group,' i.e. by crouching beneath it. Cp. such expressions as '*abbicarsi*,' ix. 28. *Cespuglio*, probably from Latin '*caespes*,' a turf, or grassy mound.

l. 125. *Di nere cagne*, of black she-mastiffs. These hell-hounds probably signify the misery and despair that attend self-ruin. *Cagna* is a feminine form of '*cane*.' 'The poets, Latin and Greek, used the feminine gender in speaking of hunting dogs, as mares are more often mentioned than horses for the race.' (Maclean, Hor. Epod. ii. 31, on

'multa cane.') See xxxiii. 31. Cp. also the Germ. for a mastiff, 'die Dogge.'

ll. 127-129. *che s'appiattò*, who crouched (Germ. 'platt'). *Miser* (mettere), set their teeth upon. *A brano a brano*, piece by piece; as (vii. 114) '*troncandosi co' denti a brano a brano*.' Cp. '*a paro a paro*' (Purg. xxiv. 93), '*a muta a muta*' (xiv. 55), '*a mille a mille*' (xii. 73), '*passo passo*' (xxix. 70). For *sen portâr* cp. v. 40, xxii. 72.

l. 133. *dicea*, sc. 'il cespuglio.' Jacopo da Sant' Andrea was a Paduan, who had ruined himself by extravagance. 'Among other prodigalities of his it is related that, wishing to see a great and beautiful fire, he caused one of his villas to be burnt.' (Ottimo Commento.) *Di me fare schermo*, to make a shelter of me.

l. 137. *chi fosti*, 'who wast thou'; sc. when in human shape. *Punte*, wounds, or, with the commoner meaning, 'points,' 'extremities.' *Sermo* is the Latin form for 'sermone'; see v. 85.

l. 140. *lo strazio disonesto*, 'the ignominious mangling' (Cl.): viii. 58.

l. 142. *cesto*, shrub: cp. 'cespuglio,' l. 123. Perhaps this is from the crude form 'caespit.'

l. 144. 'Changed its first patron into (for) the Baptist.' In the time of the Romans Mars was the tutelary god of Florence. He was supplanted by St. John. The city was destroyed by the Goths during the sixth century, not by Attila, who is said never to have crossed the Apennines, but probably by Totila (about A. D. 540), with whom he is sometimes confounded. (See Macch. i. 2; Sism. Rep. It. i. 1). Charles the Great rebuilt, or rather finished the rebuilding of, Florence in the ninth century. A mutilated statue of Mars was preserved by the citizens, and stood at the head of the old bridge over the Arno. It was swept away by a flood in 1337 (1333?). *L'arte sua* is, of course, war.

l. 147. *vista*, glimpse or semblance: i. e. the old statue.

l. 149. *che d'Attila rimase*, which remained from Attila, which Attila left behind him. See l. 144.

l. 150. Perhaps Dante was thinking of Ps. cxxvii. 1. 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.'

l. 151. How the whole story of a life seems to be told by this one line! It is one of the many instances of that extraordinary power Dante possessed of 'condensing whole chapters and books into single sentences.' (Symonds.) Who this suicide was is not known. Several names are mentioned by the commentators, such as Rocco de' Mozzi, and Lotto degli Agli, noble Florentines. Others fancy that he must have been a Frenchman, or some one who had squandered his property in Paris, because the word *gibetto* is of French extraction (?).

CANTOS XIV-XVI.

ARGUMENT.

The next three cantos are taken up with a description of the third ring of the seventh circle, which contains those who have done violence against God Nature and Art. It is a plain of burning sand on which rains an eternal shower of fiery flakes, falling slowly, 'as snow among Alps without a wind.' The poets reach a crimson stream, and Virgil explains how it flows from the upper world, and how all the rivers and marshes of Hell are formed. After descending some distance by the margin of this stream they are met by a troop of spirits who eye them 'as men are wont to regard each other in the evening under a new moon.' One of these takes Dante by the skirt, exclaiming 'What a marvel!' It is Ser Brunetto Latini, Dante's master. A long and affectionate conversation ensues between the two friends. Soon after leaving Brunetto, Dante hears the sound of falling water, for they are approaching the great cliff where the crimson stream precipitates itself into the eighth circle. After meeting certain other Florentine spirits, they reach the brink of the precipice, and the noise of the crimson cataract grows so loud that they can scarcely hear each other speak.

Dante had girded round him a cord, with which he had hoped some time to have caught the Panther¹. This Virgil takes from him and throws into the abyss. Then from the depth of a thick darkness comes swimming upwards a shape marvellous to every stedfast heart; and as a diver, who goes below to loosen an anchor, spreads out his arms and gathers together his feet as he rises, so does this monster rise.

CANTO XVII.

ARGUMENT.

Geryon described. The poets descend towards where he has 'landed his head' on the rocky brink. While Virgil addresses the monster, Dante goes alone a little aside to see the Usurers, who form the last class of the third ring. They are tormented by the flakes of falling fire and

¹ The Panther (i. 32) is probably Sensuality, and the cord may be the Franciscan (cordelier) rope—the symbol of mortification of the flesh.

the burning sand, and wear purses hung round their necks stamped with armorial bearings. He soon returns, and Geryon carries them down the abyss.

The monster Geryon was, according to ancient fable, a king of Hesperia (Spain), who had three heads, or three bodies united into one. His home is said to have been Erythea, that is, the red land of the west, —probably one of the Balearic isles. He was slain by Hercules, who had come in quest of his oxen. Dante transforms him into a demon of quite a different nature, a liberty that he has also taken with Minos (v. 4).

l. 1. **Aguzza**, pointed (Lat. *acuta*).

l. 3. **appuzza** ('putire,' Lat. 'putere'), makes to stink. Geryon represents Fraud, which forces its way through all barriers and corrupts all it approaches by its noisome presence.

l. 5. **accennolle**, beckoned to it. See iii. 73. **Proda**, marge (cp. 'board,' 'border,' 'broad'): 'venire a proda,' to come ashore: used also xxii. 80.

l. 6. 'Near the end of the traversed marble'; i. e. where the stony margin of the crimson streamlet, which they had been following, met the precipice.

l. 8. **Sen venne**, came away, i. e. onward. See v. 13. Cp. 's'en venir.' **Arrivare** is used in an active sense, and with its original meaning 'to land' ('ad... ripa'). Cp. 'Come nave ch'alla spiaggia arriva' (Purg. xvii. 78).

l. 10. Geryon is the 'foul image of Fraud,' and is given the benign visage of a just man, because hypocrisy is the head and front of deceit.

l. 11. **pelle**, exterior.

l. 12. **Fusto** is properly the trunk of a tree or stem of a plant: here it is used for the trunk of an animal.

l. 15. **rotelle**, lit. 'small wheels'; i. e. circular spots. The word however generally means 'shields,' and it may be so translated here. Cp. the description of the dragon in Spenser's *Faery Queene* (I. xi. 11). 'Bespotted as with shieldes of red and blacke.' The two passages may be compared for other details.

l. 16. **sommessa** is 'groundwork,' and **sopraposta** 'relievo' in embroidery. **Fêr** for 'ferono' (fecero), as l. 89. Boccaccio's public lectures on Dante close with an unfinished note upon the words 'Tartari nè Turchi.' See Longfellow's note.

l. 18. **Arachne**: a Lydian maiden who excelled in the art of weaving. She is said to have challenged Athena to a contest, and to have been changed by the goddess into a spider. See Ovid, *Metam.* vi. **Imposte**, laid on the loom.

ll. 21, 22. **lurchi**, guzzling. (Cl.) The word seems to mean 'voracious,' or 'gluttonous.' From the Lat. 'lurco'; cp. Germ. 'lorch.' The former word is used by Plautus: 'lurco, edax, furax, fugax.' Dante has equally well seized the characteristic weakness of the French nation (xxix. 122). **Bevero** is the Germ. 'bibere': 'castoro' is the modern Italian for the beaver. It may be noticed that the beaver does not live on fish. Dante perhaps confounds it with the otter, as he mistakes the 'lonza' in i. 33. **Assetarsi**, connected with 'sedere,' means here 'to settle' or 'place oneself': cp. l. 91.

l. 24. 'On the edge, which is of rock and encloses the expanse of sand,' or 'which closes the great sand with stone' (Cl). The sands of the seventh circle are edged by the rocky brink of the central abyss. **Orlo** from Lat. 'ora' (orula).

l. 25. **guizzava**, waved or quivered. The word denotes any quick movement, especially that of fishes and snakes. In xi. 113 it is used of the constellation Pisces: 'i Pesci guizzan su per l'orizzonta.' It is used of the movement of legs (xix. 26); of the reflection trembling in a mirror (Purg. xxv. 26); and of sleep, trembling and wavering ere it quite dies away (Purg. xvii. 42). Cp. Germ. 'wischen,' Eng. 'whisk.'

l. 28. **si torca**, be bent aside, i. e. towards the right. See ix. 132.

l. 30. **corcare** or **coricare** is the Lat. 'collocare.' **Si corca**, couches.

l. 31. **Scendemmo**: they descend from the elevated margin, which is described in Canto XV as being like in size to the dykes between Bruges and Cadsand. But by doing so they find that they are approaching too closely the level of burning sand, and therefore strike forward ten paces till they reach the rocky margin of the central abyss, which also is evidently elevated above the level of the sand as a curb-stone, and is free from the rain of fire.

l. 33. **cansare** is a form of 'campare' (xxii. 21 and 135), to save, or escape. The commoner forms 'scampare' and 'scansare' are not used by Dante (but 'scampo,' xxii. 3). 'Campsare' is an old Latin word used by Ennius. It is probably from the same root as the Greek *κάμπω*, and seems to mean to 'double round,' and therefore to escape, a promontory. Others give 'ex-campus' (B.), but it is difficult to say what meaning can be extracted from it.

l. 36. **scemo**, from Lat. 'semi-' (half), contains the notion of diminution and imperfection. As a substantive it means 'defect'; as 'lo scemo della luna' (Purg. x. 14), 'the decreasing orb of the moon' (L.), or 'the dark portion of the moon' (B.: cp. Lat. 'defectus'). **Luogo scemo** means 'the void and hollow abyss.'

l. 39. **mena**, condition. 'Menare' is used of the movement of the limbs (ix. 83); hence **mena** is gesture or attitude, and here equivalent

to 'modo' (iii. 34). The word means 'kind' or 'species' in xxiv. 83. Cp. 'mien.'

l. 41. *questa*, sc. 'fiera.'

l. 42. *Che ne conceda*, that he may lend us.

l. 43. *Così ancor...* He says 'also' because he had already seen the two upper rings of the seventh circle. Dante is seldom left alone, though Virgil sometimes has to advance by himself in order to parley with the demons, as at the gates of the city of Dis (viii. 109), and when among the Malebranche (xxi. 58).

l. 46. *Scoppiava*, was bursting, i. e. in tears. 'On this side, on that, with their hands they defended themselves now against the flames and now against the burning soil.' *Vapore* is used here, as 'vapor' in Latin (Lucr. iii. 339, etc.), for 'heat.' The third ring of this circle is described in the three preceding cantos (see Argument). Miss Rossetti (Shadow of Dante, p. 55) thinks that there may be a 'subtle connexion' between the fire-rain of this seventh circle and the flamelets of fire, which Dante says are rained upon the heart by the beauty of philosophy (Convito, iii. 13). This seems fanciful. Cp. Ps. xi. 6, 'Upon the wicked he shall rain quick burning coals, fire and brimstone, and a burning tempest' (marginal tr.)

l. 50. *Ceffo*, muzzle (= 'muso' xxii. 26 : see on xxxi. 126).

l. 52. *nel viso a' detti*, on the face of the aforementioned. Some read 'certi.'

l. 54. 'I recognised none of them.' Cl. says, 'they are all too despicable for being named.' The passage in the seventh canto confirms this. Dante says that he ought to recognise some among the misers and spendthrifts; and Virgil answers, 'Vain thoughts thou combinest: their undiscerning life, which made them sordid, now makes them too obscure for any recognition' (vii. 52).

l. 55. *tasca*, pouch; called also 'borsa' below. Cp. Germ. 'Tasche.' *Segno* means a heraldic emblem.

l. 57. *Quindi*, therefrom. They still gloat over their purses with their former miserly greed. (See v. 103.) Cp. Milton's description of Mammon:

'Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell
From heaven; for e'en in heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught divinè or holy.' (Par. Lost, i. 678.)

l. 60. *contegno*, attitude. Cp. 'in guisa di leone quando si posa' (Purg. vi. 66). A lion azure blazoned on Or was the arms of the Gianfigliuzzi, a Florentine family of the Guelph faction.

l. 61. *il curso*..., the course of my sight proceeding. A nominative

absolute. *Curro* is an antique word, and is said to mean 'a cylinder.' But here it is used as 'scorrimento,' onward course or flow. Cp. ix. 74, 'il nerbo del viso'; xviii. 127, 'pingere il viso più avanti'; xx. 10, 'il viso mi scese'; xxxi. 11, 'il viso m'andava innanzi poco'; viii. 66, 'l'occhio sbarro'; ix. 5, xvi. 17, etc.; all of which passages give an intense realism to the descriptions.

l. 63. *oca*, a goose; said to be formed (as 'uccello,' iii. 117) from 'auca,' which is a medieval form of 'avica' (avis). (B.) A goose argent (proper) on a gules field was the arms of the Ubbriachi, Florentine Ghibelins. The azure sow (scrofa) on an argent field was the arms of the Scrovigni of Padua. Rinaldo Scrovigni is said to be the name of the resent speaker. (Fr.)

l. 67. 'Since thou art still alive,' and therefore can take back my words to the upper world. Vitaliano del Dente was a rich Paduan usurer. *Vicino* here means 'fellow-citizen.'

l. 71. *intronan*, they thunder, or, din into my ears. There are two forms, viz. 'trono' and 'tuono' (Lat. tonare).

l. 72. 'Let the sovereign cavalier come, who shall bring the pouch with the three goats.' The word *becco* means either 'a goat' (Germ. Bock) or 'a beak' (a Gallic word according to Suetonius). Some commentators affirm that the blazon here described is that of three eagle's beaks or heads. (Fr.) It seems however to have been tolerably well proved from the ancient records of the family kept at Florence, that goats were used as their insignia. Dante's son Pietro uses the expression 'Ille cum tribus hircis,' as also Benvenuto. This 'sovereign cavalier' as Dante ironically calls him, is m. Giovanni Buiaconti, a Florentine, and the greatest usurer of his day.

l. 75. A vulgar mark of contempt, 'indicating the real rank of these noble usurers.' (Cl.) 'Fare le fiche' (xxv. 2), to make figs, by thrusting the thumbs between the fore and middle fingers, was another custom of the same character. The simile of the ox is one of those graphic but grotesque images which are so truly Dantesque. Persius gives another picture, when he speaks of the same contemptuous action, 'linguae, quantum sitiatis canis Apula, tantum'—the lolling tongue of a thirsty Apulian dog.

l. 76. 'Fearing lest longer delay . . . ' (temendo non il più star). The common construction after verbs of 'fearing' is 'che . . . non': but sometimes the 'che' is omitted. Cp. 'Sì ch'io temetti non tenesser patto,' xxi. 93 and iii. 80.

l. 82. 'Now is the descent made by such stairs as these.' At the next precipice, which divides the eighth circle from the ninth, the descent is made by means of Antaeus; and at the centre the shaggy hide of Lucifer himself serves for 'stairs' (xxx. 130 and xxxiv. 82). For

siffatte see v. 37. **Mezzo**; i. e. between thee and the scorpion sting of the tail.

l. 85. **Quale colui**: viii. 22. 'So near to the shivering fit of quartan.' **Riprezzo** is an old form of 'ribrezzo' (xxxii. 71). **Smorto** (semi-mortuus) is generally used, as here, with reference to colour, 'pallid.'

l. 87. **Rezzo, orezza, and rezza** (a veil) seem all to be derived from the Lat. 'auretiū.' But cp. 'brezza,' French 'brise,' etc., and 'ribrezzo,' l. 85. 'Orezza' in Purg. xxiv. 150 evidently means 'a soft wind': 'la pluma, che fe sentir d'ambrosia l'orezza.' 'Rezzo' is probably 'a shady place'; a place where there are cooling airs. The meaning of the line is, 'He is all of a tremble if he but sees shade.' This is intelligible enough, especially to those who have seen Italian ague. Carlyle translates 'still keeping to the shade,' and gives a very forced explanation: 'continuing, unnerved and discouraged, in the shade which is cold and hurtful to him.'

l. 88. **pôrte**, from 'porgere.' See v. 108, viii. 112. **Fêr**: see l. 17. 'His threats wrought in me shame, which makes a servant brave before a good master.' The threats of Virgil are the admonitions, which he has more than once given to Dante, that 'all cowardice must be dead' (iii. 15). Cp. ii. 45, 'L'anima tua è da viltade offesa.' Carlyle says these 'threats' are the 'mere visible presence of Wisdom,' and compares Virgil's expression 'minae murorum'—a singularly inapt quotation. **Minaccia** is the Lat. 'minaciae.' There is no need to take the reading 'fe' (for 'fêr,') which Cary prefers, but which is without good authority.

l. 91. The termination 'accia,' or 'accio,' signifies something huge and unpleasant. When 'uccio' is used there seems to be conveyed the meaning of puniness and contemptible meanness. Thus 'casuccia' is a small wretched house. **Spallacce**, huge shoulders.

l. 92. **Si volli dir**, I wished to say *thus*; sc. see that thou clasp me.

l. 93. **Abbracce** for 'abbracci' (xiii. 16 and 33). Notice that in such forms as 'abbracci' the double 'i' is not kept. This is the case with all verbs whose root-forms end in 'gi,' 'ci,' or 'gli.' See Vergani, Gr. xvi.

l. 95. Cp. viii. 97. **Forte** is most probably a substantive, = 'danger.' It may be a substantive formed from the Lat. 'fors' (fortune, danger), and not from 'fortis' (brave), which two words are of very different significations, and are perhaps not even connected. The explanation that takes **forte** as an adverb is very unsatisfactory. 'Forte' the adjective is often used by Dante as 'difficult': 'Per altra via, che fu sì aspra e forte' (Purg. ii. 65).

l. 98. **Le ruote larghe** (sc. 'sieno'), let the circles be large, and the descent be little: that is, do not swerve round too sharply, nor plunge downwards at too headlong an incline.

l. 99. **soma** is said to be the Greek *σάγμα* (a packsaddle, or burden), which through the medieval Latin became 'sauma.' The Germans have the word in 'Saumesel' (packass). Cp. our 'sumpter.'

l. 101. **In dietro in dietro**: see xiii. 128 and l. 115. Cp. l. 19.

l. 102. 'And when he felt himself fully at play,' i. e. quite afloat. **A giuoco** is said of a bird when it is 'at loose.'

l. 104. **tesa**, extended, straightened like an eel's tail. Before he had held it curled upwards like a scorpion's (l. 26).

l. 105. 'Gathered the air to him with his paws.'

l. 108. **si cosse**, got burnt. 'Cuocere' (Lat. *coquere*) is used of the action of fire, whether baking or scorching: 'Sì l' incendio immaginato cosse' (Purg. ix. 32). Dante refers to the Milky Way. 'It must be known that philosophers have different opinions concerning this galaxy. For the Pythagoreans said that the sun once wandered out of his way, and passing through other regions not adapted to his heat burned the place through which he passed, and traces of the burning remained. I think they took this from the fable of Phaethon, which Ovid relates.' (Convito ii. 15, quoted by Longfellow at Par. xiv. 90.) Phaethon was the son of Helios. He attempted to drive the sun-chariot, and after nearly setting the earth on fire was killed by a thunderbolt from the hand of Zeus.

l. 109. **Reni**, lit. reins, i. e. back; as French 'reins.' **Spennar**, unfeathering. (Cl.) For the construction see v. 26. In **scaldare** the **ex** is intensive. See v. 131.

l. 115. 'Swimming slowly, slowly.' Cp. l. 101.

l. 117. **Se non che**, except that. The wind on his face (**al viso**) corresponds to **ruota**, and that from below to **discende**. These minute touches make the description wonderfully graphic. **Gorgo**, from Lat. 'gurgēs.'

l. 119. **Stroscio**, probably a word formed by onomatopoeia from the sound of falling water, 'a roaring.' The noise of the crimson stream long before this (xvi. 92, 105) had stunned their ears and drowned their words. It fell over the precipice into the next circle.

l. 120. **con gli occhi in giù** must be taken together. 'With my eyes cast downwards.' **Allor**, i. e. after looking, and seeing the depth of the abyss. **Scoscio**, descent. The verb 'scoscendere' means 'to break' (Par. xxi. 12): 'fronda che tuono scoscende.' (Cp. Purg. xiv. 135.) In Inf. xxiv. 42 the word is used, as 'scoscio' in this passage, of an abrupt descent: 'Onde l' ultima pietra si scoscende,' where the last rock breaks off. It is probably from the Lat. 'dis-conscondere.'

l. 123. **mi raccoscio**, cling close. The word is used of a rider who draws his legs close and crouches down on the saddle to get a firm seat. (B.) Carlyle translates 'cowered.'

l. 124. He is now made aware of the downward and circular motion by sights of horror that 'on diverse sides' approach and recede, as Geryon makes his last gyrations near the bottom of the abyss. *Chè* is not the relative. Translate—'for I saw it not before.'

l. 128. *Logoro*, lure. The lure was made of feathers and skin, and was used by falconers to recall their birds. The word *logoro* is by some said to be from the Lat. 'lorum' (thong) or 'ludicrum' (a show). Some MSS. have the form 'ludoro.' Perhaps it is the same word as Germ. 'Luder' (bait or carrion). (B.) For *fa dire al* see viii. 59. *Oime tu cali*, Ah me! thou descendest. 'Calare' is also used of a bird dropping to earth in *Purg.* ix. 21: 'Con l'ale aperte, ed a calare intesa.' Originally it seems to have been used of lowering sails (xxvii. 81) and is probably one of the many Greek nautical terms (*χαλᾶν*) still used by Italian sailors.

l. 132. *Fello* is the A.S. 'fell.' It is used in this sense in xxviii. 81, 'un tiranno fello.' Here it seems to mean 'sullen.' The word ('fello' or 'fellone') also means 'a thief' (felon). *Fauriel* (ii. 9) gives 'fello' as an instance of a word adopted from the Celtic.

l. 134. *A piè a piè*, at the very base. Cp. 115 and 101. *Stagliata*, lit. unhewn, i. e. rough. *Tagliare*, to cut, is from the Lat. 'talea,' a cutting.

l. 135. *Discaricare* (or 'scaricare') to unload. See v. 131. *Si dileguò*, darted away, the word used of frogs in ix. 77. *Cocca* is the notch of an arrow into which the bowstring is fitted: it is here used for the arrow itself. (Cp. *Par.* viii. 105: 'Sì come cocca in suo segno diretta').

CANTOS XVIII, XIX.

ARGUMENT.

At the base of the precipice begins the eighth circle, called Malebolge (Evil-pits). It is a circular slope which shelves down to the brink of the nethermost 'well,' and is divided into ten concentric rings or fosses, in each of which a different class of sinners is tormented. The fosses are separated from each other by steep banks. Across these, from various points in the outer circumference, run transverse dykes, radiating towards the centre, and forming bridges over the fosses. Virgil turns (as usual) to the left, along the outer edge of the first ring, in which are Seducers and other such sinners scourged by horned demons. At length they reach the head of a transverse dyke, and after crossing the first fosse, mount to the centre of the arch over the second, and from it view Flatterers submerged in liquid filth. They then reach

(Canto XIX) the bridge over the third fosse, where they see the Simonists buried head-downward in holes, with flames flickering on the upturned soles of their feet. Dante observes one writhing more violently than the rest, and, wishing to learn his name, is carried down by his guide into the deep chasm. The Simonist proves to be Pope Nicolas III, who, hearing Dante address him, exclaims, 'Art thou there already, Boniface?' Dante undeceives him, and so sharply reproves him that, 'whether it was rage or conscience gnawed him, he sprawled violently with both feet.' Then Virgil carries Dante up to the arch of the fourth fosse.

CANTO XIX.

1. 1. Simon Magus; see Acts viii. 18: and for full details consult Milman's Hist. Lat. Christ. ii. 97. *Seguaci*, followers; i.e. Simonists.

1. 2. *di bontate* . . . *spose*, should be wedded to (or spouses of) righteousness.

1. 3. *Deono*, or *denno*, for 'debbono': see on xxxiii. 7. *E* is here merely used for emphasis: see on iii. 82.

1. 5. 'Now must the trumpet sound for you': that is, now must the trumpet of my poem call you forth for judgment. Cp. 'Cry aloud, spare not: lift up thy voice like a trumpet' (Isa. lviii. 1). Some take it to be 'the trump of death,' as the 'angelica tromba' in vi. 95. Others say it refers to the trumpet of the public crier, who published the crimes of condemned persons.

1. 6. *Bolgia* is from Lat. 'bulga' (a hole), which Festus says is a Gallic word. Cp. O. Fr. 'boge,' a sack; O. H. G. 'bulga' (belgen), to swell; and Eng. 'bulge,' budget.'

11. 7, 8. *tomba*, the third chasm. *Scoglio* means the rocky bridge that goes over the bolgia. This is invariably its meaning, except perhaps in xxvii. 134.

1. 9. *piomba*, lit. 'plumbs'; i.e. hangs right over ('sta a piombo'), so that a plumb-line could be dropped from it to the deepest point of the bolgia. The word is often used of a thing falling 'plumb' down: as 'in voi piombar,' Alfieri, Tim. ii. 4.

1. 10. *O somma Sapienza*: see on iii. 6.

1. 11. *nel mal mondo*: nell' Inferno. Thus Acheron is called 'il mal fiume,' Purg. i. 88.

1. 13. *coste*. The sides of the bolgia slope downwards at an incline which, though it makes the descent difficult (as we see from l. 43, 124 foll.) yet allows of the presence of tombs.

1. 14. *livida*. In xviii. 1, 2, we find that Malebolge was 'tutto di

pietra e di color ferrigno.' **Fori**, holes : from 'forare,' to pierce. A plural, 'le fora,' is also found, *Purg.* xxi. 83.

l. 15. 'All of one size.' **Largo**, for the more usual 'larghezza.'

ll. 17, 18. The present baptistery of San Giovanni was in Dante's time the cathedral of Florence. The structure dates as far back as at least the sixth century, and may have been originally the temple of Mars, the tutelary god of Florence (xiii. 144). It was probably built on the model of the Pantheon, with an open space in the centre of its dome, which in 1550 was surmounted by a lantern. The present exterior, of black and white marble, was erected in 1288-1293 by Arnolfo. In 1248 Dante's 'bel San Giovanni' narrowly escaped destruction. The Guelphs had used the church as a council chamber (cp. on x. 87); and the Ghibelins, when they had decided to overthrow a great tower called the Guardomorto, so called because it overlooked the cemetery of the church, gave instructions to the architect, Niccola Pisano, that he should allow the tower to crush the church in its fall. Pisano however was a better artist than Ghibelin, and the church was spared. The far-famed bronze doors of this baptistery did not exist in Dante's time. Andrea Pisano executed the southern door about 1330, and the other two, which were declared by Michael Angelo worthy of being the gates of Paradise, were the work of Ghiberti, about 1400. The cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore was begun by Arnolfo in 1298, but was not finished till the middle of the fourteenth century. There were in the baptistery, connected with the font, some circular 'wells' ('pozzetti,' Landino calls them), the exact nature of which it is difficult to ascertain. Probably they were recesses cut into the circumference of the font itself. In these the priests took their stand in order to be nearer the water and to avoid the crowd, which on certain days appointed for baptism, and especially on Easter Sunday, was excessive. Translate—'made as a standing place for (or, for the accommodation of) the baptizers.' Others read 'di battezzatorii,' and explain 'as a place for baptisms,' that is, smaller fonts, which would be used on ordinary occasions. But there is no authority for such a reading or explanation.

l. 20. 'I broke for the sake of (to save) one who was being drowned in it.' What it was that Dante broke, and who it was that he saved, is not known. The commentators state that it was a boy, who had fallen into the font. This font was destroyed (it is said) by Francesco de' Medici, after the baptism of his son Philip in 1577. The present font was placed where it stands in 1658, but is evidently the work of an earlier period. Blanc thinks that **annegare** (or 'annegarsi') is not used here with its usual sense 'to be drowned,' but 'to be killed' (Lat. *necare*). Cp. xxxiii. 84.

l. 21. 'And this shall be a sign that may undeceive every man.' It

seems that Dante had been accused of a sacrilegious and malicious intention in breaking this font. He here publicly refutes the calumny. *Fia*, for 'sarà' (i. 106): some read 'sia.'

ll. 22-24. *soverchiava*, protruded: see on xxi. 51. *Grosso*, the thigh, or perhaps the calf: see on xxii. 27.

l. 25. 'The soles of all were both on fire.' *Intrambe*, 'entrambe,' or 'amendue'; used also, *Par.* vii. 148, in another form, 'Che li primi parenti intrambo fênsi.'

l. 27. *spezzare*, to break. *Pezzo* is the Fr. 'pièce.' *Diez* derives it from *πέζα*, a border. In Breton however we have 'pez'; and probably the Low Latin 'petia,' a piece of ground, is from some such source. *Ritorte*: xxxi. iii. *Stramba* is a rope made of rushes, or of Spanish broom. O. H. G. 'stramm,' and 'straff'? (B.)

l. 29. *Buccia*, or *bucchio*, is the shell or rind. It means here 'the surface,' and in *Purg.* xxiii. 25 'the skin.' Donkin says, 'perhaps for "lobuccio," from *λοβός* or *λοπός*. The "lo" was perhaps mistaken for the article.' The flame on an oiled substance moves and flickers about over the surface: 'such was it there, from the heels to the points of the toes.'

l. 33. *succia*, lit. sucks; i. e. licks up the moisture. Longfellow thinks that there is here 'probably an allusion to the red stockings worn by the Popes.'

l. 35. *che più giace*, which shelves more, declines from the perpendicular, and is therefore less steep. Every *bolgia* is a deep circular trench cut out of the sloping side of Hell, and as the general incline towards the centre is considerable, the further brink (to one descending) will be always considerably below the upper: and consequently the descent from the lower bank into the *bolgia* is in every case shorter, and we see from this passage that it is also less precipitous. Cp. xxiii. 31:

'S'egli è, che sì la destra costa giaccia,

Che noi posiam nell' altra *bolgia* scendere.'

With this use of 'giacere' cp. Lat. 'jacere,' and 'supini colles': and *Purg.* iii. 76, 'dove la montagna giace.'

ll. 36, 37. *torti*, wrongs, both received and done. *M'è bel*: 'mi piace, mi è grato.'

l. 39. 'And thou knowest that which is not spoken.' Cp. on x. 18.

ll. 40, 41. *argine*, dyke, from 'arger,' a form of Lat. 'agger.' This dyke is the bank dividing the third from the fourth *bolgia*. They descend from the bridge which crosses the third (l. 8) and, reaching the further bank, turn to the left and descend into the chasm. *Mano stanca*, the wearied, or weaker hand, that is, the left: cp. 'mano manca,' in the same sense, xxiii. 68. See also on i. 30. It will be noticed that on crossing the bridges they generally turn to the left (xxi. 136).

l. 42. *foracchiato ed arto*, perforated and narrow; full of 'fori,'
 l. 14. *Arto* is the Latin 'arctus,' or 'artus.'

l. 43. *anca*: 'è l'osso che sta tra il fianco e le cosce.' (Fr.) Translate 'from his side.' For derivation see on xxxiv. 77.

l. 44. *rotto*, cleft; that is, the hole. Cp. *Purg.* ix. 74, 'un rotto, Pur com' un fesso ch' un muro diparte.'

l. 45. 'Who so lamented with his leg'; showed his agony by the 'sprawling' of his legs, as in l. 120. Fraticelli however reads 'pingeva,' which means 'writhed.' But the former is far more expressive, and is quite in Dante's manner. Some read 'si piangeva,' from 'piangersi.' Cp. the description in xxxiv. 63. For *zanca* see on xxxiv. 79.

l. 46. *il di su tien di sotto*, 'holdest thy upper part below,' buried upside down.

l. 47. 'Fixed like a stake.' *Commettere* is only found in Dante in the past participle, which has the two forms 'compresso,' and 'com-miso,' the latter only used of the commission of crime: 'per colpa commisa' (*Purg.* vi. 21).

l. 49. 'As the friar who confesses the treacherous assassin, who, after he is fixed, calls him back, because death is (thus) delayed.' *Confessa* is used actively here, but nowhere else in the poem. *Cessa* is probably neuter, 'si ritarda.' Some however translate 'delays, or avoids, death.' At Florence assassins were buried alive, and head downward; which barbarous punishment was called 'propagginare,' or 'vine-plant-ing.' The statute was as follows: 'Assassinus trahatur ad caudam muli seu asini usque ad locum justitiae, et ibidem plantetur capite deorsum ita quod moriatur.' (Cary.) *Assassino* is from Arabic 'hashishin,' the members of an Eastern sect who, intoxicated by a drink ('hashish') made from the hemp-plant, took an oath to the Sheik or Old Man of the Mountain (Shaik al-gabal) that they would do murder in his service, if required. The word was unknown in Europe before the twelfth century. (D.)

ll. 52, 53. 'Art thou there already upright?' *Ritto* (Lat. *rectus*) means 'standing upright'; not yet buried headforemost. The speaker is Niccolò III, of the Orsini family, who was Pope from 1277 to 1281. He mistakes Dante for Bonifazio VIII (see on iii. 60), who was still alive in 1300, and he is surprised that he should have come three years before the appointed time: for Bonifazio did not die till 1303. For similar repetitions cp. l. 62, and *Par.* xxvii. 22 (which also refers to Bonifazio):

'Quegli ch' usurpa in terra il luogo mio,
 Il luogo mio, il luogo mio.'

Scritto is used to signify the prophetic writ, or vision, by which the spirits knew future events: see on x. 100 foll.

l. 56. 'That wealth, for which thou didst not fear to seize by guile the beauteous Lady, and then make havoc of her.' Bonifazio's guile, by which he obtained the papal power through the abdication of Pope Celestino, is described on x. 100. The **bella Donna** is the Church.

l. 60. **scornati**, mocked: probably from Lat. 'ex-cornare,' to deprive of horns. Contrast the expressions, 'exalt the horn,' 'tu addis cornua pauperi' (Hor.). However 'scherno' seems connected with O. H. Germ. 'skörn,' scorn.

l. 64. **tutti storse i piedi**, quite wrenched his feet (Cl.): see on v. 8.

l. 67. **ti cal**, it concerneth thee: cp. 'D'altro non calme' (mi cale), Purg. viii. 12, xxx. 135. The Latin 'calere' means 'to be warm,' and thus 'to be excited by desire for.'

l. 68. **scorrere** (not used elsewhere in the poem) evidently means 'to traverse,' and the **ripa** is the sloping side ('costa,' l. 13) of the bolgia.

l. 69. The great Mantle, is the pontifical robe, as in Purg. xix. 104: cp. Inf. ii. 27, 'del papale ammanto.'

l. 71. **orsatti**, the bear's cubs; referring to the Orsini family. Niccolo created ten Roman cardinals, almost all of whom were his relations: see Sismondi ii. vii., and Ricordano Malaspina, c. 204.

l. 72. 'That on earth I stowed away (put in purse) wealth, here myself'; by stowing away money on earth I got myself stowed away in this hole.

l. 75. **piatti**, flattened or crushed. (Fr.) Some take it to mean 'lying flat,' i. e. not headforemost, as Niccolo himself.

l. 79. **cossi**, from 'cuocere.' The meaning of the passage is that Bonifazio will not have to wait for the death of the next simoniacal Pope so long as Niccolo had already waited for the death of Bonifazio, that is, for nineteen years, from 1281 to 1300. Clement V, made Pope in 1305, died in 1314, so that Bonifazio (who did not die till 1303) would have to 'roast his feet' for only eleven years. This prophecy seems a proof that Dante composed these lines after 1314. See p. lxxvii, and on l. 82.

ll. 82-84. **di più laid' opra**, of more shameful deed: cp. O. H. G. 'leid,' odious. **Di vêt ponente**, from westward. After the death of Bonifazio in 1303, Benedetto XI held the papacy, but 'being opposed by his cardinals, he retired to Perugia and died by poison in 1305. The conclave met at Perugia to elect a successor; but, after a fierce and vain discussion, which lasted nearly ten months, they entrusted the election to Philip the Fair, of France, who chose Bertrand de Gotte, Archbishop of Bordeaux. For the disgraceful contract by which the Archbishop pledged himself see Giov. Villani, viii. 80, or Sismondi, Hist. Rep. It. ii. xi. He was crowned as Pope Clement V at Lyon in 1305

He selected creatures of Philip as his cardinals, transferred the papal seat to Avignon, and, among many other crimes, excited the great persecution against the Templars (1307).

l. 85. Jason, the brother of Onias, bought the high-priesthood from Antiochus, king of Syria, for 'three hundred and threescore talents' (2 Maccab. iv).

l. 88. *folle*, foolish, or, as others, bold; referring either to his presumption in thus addressing a Pope (see l. 100) or to the foolishness of wasting his words on such an object. *Metro*, strain, as vii. 33, 'Gridando sempre loro ontoso metro.'

l. 91. *in prima* . . . *Che*: 'avanti che.' *Balia*, keeping, or authority; perhaps from Lat. 'bajulus,' a carrier: cp. Fr. 'bailli,' and Eng. 'bailiff.' 'Balia' is 'a nurse.' Par. xxx. 141.

l. 96. *l'anima ria*, the guilty soul—Judas. *Ti sta'*, thou standest there, on thy head.

l. 99. *Carlo*. Niccolo III supported and recognised as Emperor (see p. xxv) Rudolph of Hapsburg in his quarrel with Charles of Anjou, who, by favour of Clement IV, in addition to his kingdom of the two Sicilies, was possessed of the offices of Senator of Rome and Vicar of Tuscany. Rudolph in return confirmed the Pope in his possession of the States of the Church, renouncing his right to many cities, such as Bologna, Rimini, Ravenna, and Urbino, which had taken oaths of fealty to him. (See Hallam, Middle Ages, i. iii. 1; Sismondi, ii. 7; and for the ancient charters, etc., granted by Charlemagne and others to the Popes, see vol. i. c. iii.) According to Villani (vii. 54) Niccolo proposed to ally his family by marriage to that of Charles, and was so irritated at the refusal, that he accepted the overtures of John of Procida, the adventurer of Salerno, whose intrigues brought about the Sicilian Vespers in 1282.

l. 102. *lieta*, of life on earth in contrast to the horrors of Hell. Cp. 'nella vita bella,' xv. 57; 'lassù di sopra in la vita serena,' xv. 49; 'in la vita serena,' vi. 51; 'il monde dolce,' vi. 88, x. 82; 'lo dolce lome,' x. 69.

ll. 106-111. 'You, Pastors, the Evangelist had in mind, when she who sits above the waters was seen by him committing fornication with the kings; she who was born with the seven heads, and from the ten horns had evidence (of power), while virtue pleased her spouse.' See Rev. xvii., from which this passage is taken: cp. also i. 100; Purg. xxxii. 143 foll. The interpretations differ much, according to the orthodoxy of the commentators. See Ozanam's 'Orthodoxie de Dante,' for a partial view of the matter. There is little doubt that Dante's 'reverence for the Great Keys' would not allow him to speak thus of the Church, considered as a divine institution; but he has no reverence

for such men as Bonifazio and Niccolo, apart from their office, and it is evidently the corrupt papal power, exercised in things both spiritual and temporal, that is here signified. The seven heads are said by some to mean the seven virtues, or the seven gifts of the Spirit, or the seven sacraments. But in Rev. xvii. 9 we find 'The seven heads are seven mountains'—the seven hills of Rome. The ten horns, says the Ottimo Commento, are the ten commandments: but see Rev. xvii. 12, 'the ten horns... are ten kings.' Both Dante and Petrarch speak of Rome, or, perhaps Avignon (see Cary ad loc.), as Babylon. *Argomento* evidently stands for the 'power and strength' of Rev. xvii. 13. *Marito* means the Pope, as the Vicar of Christ, and therefore the spouse of the Church. Carlyle says, 'unhappily for itself the Inquisition of Spain prohibited and suppressed this whole passage.'

l. 113. 'And what difference is there between you and idolaters?' *Idolatre* for 'idolatri,' as 'eresiarche,' ix. 127: some read 'all' idolatre,' taking it as singular. The hundred gods of gold and silver are money. Cp. this denunciation of idolatry with Ozanam's assertion: 'Lui même [Dante] a justifié le culte des images' (p. 376). *Orate*: 'sembra aver il signif. di adorare, o di orrate, per onorate.' (B.)

l. 115. 'Ah Constantine, of how much ill was cause,
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
That the first wealthy pope received of thee.'

(Milton, Prose Works.)

Silvester was Bishop of Rome in the time of Constantine. In the 'Legenda Aurea' it is related that he cured the Emperor of his leprosy. (See Longfellow's note on Inf. xxvii. 94.) In return Constantine is said to have given the Lateran and 'aliquas dignitates' to the prelate: see Purg. xxxii. 125, Par. xx. 55. The fact is however doubted by Dante himself in his 'De Monarchia' (iii). Ariosto places the gift in the moon (Orl. Fur. xxxiv. 80); and the passage is translated by Milton—

'Then passed he to a flowery mountain green,
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously;
This was that gift, if you the truth will have,
That Constantine to good Silvester gave.'

Milman (Lat. Christ. i. 2) says 'that with which Constantine actually did invest the Church (was) the right of holding landed property, and receiving it by bequest.' The forged documents seem to have first appeared about 774, when Charlemagne made certain concessions to Pope Adriano. (See reff. on l. 99.) For a full review of the subject see Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, ch. vii. *Dote*: 'risponde a marito del v. iii.' (Andr.)

l. 119. 'Whether it was rage or conscience gnawed him.' (Cl.)

l. 120. *spingava*, sprawled; others read 'springava': both words are probably the same, and from O. H. G. 'springan,' to spring. Cp. 'spingarda,' a kind of 'balestra,' or a battering-ram, Span. 'espingarda.' **Piota**, a foot; now used only for a 'plot' of ground. Diez gives it from Umbrian 'plotus,' 'plautus,' and quotes from Festus: 'plotos appellunt Umbri pedibus planis,' 'the Umbrians call those with flat feet *ploti*.' Hence the name Plautus. But cp. Germ. 'Pfote,' and Eng. 'foot' and 'plot.'

l. 125. 'And when he had me all on his breast': cp. l. 43. It is worthy of notice that in the early cantos of the *Inferno* (iv. and vi. ad init.), Dante is unconsciously transported (evidently by Virgil, though we are not told so) over Acheron, and from the second into the third circle while in a swoon, but as he descends to the basso *Inferno*, he is not wholly overpowered by terror, but is able to tell us how his guide often clasped him in his arms and bore him over dangerous places. See xvii. 94; xxiii. 37-51, where the expression is like the present, 'Portandose me sovra il suo petto': xxiv. 22 foll.; xxxiv. 70.

l. 128. **Sin** for 'sinchè': see on xxxiv. 87. **Tragetto**, passage: cp. xxxiv. 105, 'tragitto.' **Argine**, bank: see on l. 40.

l. 131. **Soave** may be an adverb, as 'soavi' in xiii. 60, in which case it merely repeats the 'soavemente.' Translate—'here he tenderly laid down his burden, tenderly on the rough and steep ridge.' But **per** can hardly have this meaning: see on i. 2. Fratricelli thinks **soave carico** is 'his beloved burden,' and **per** 'for the sake of.' The passage would thus mean 'he tenderly laid down his beloved burden, which he had taken in his arms on account of the rough and steep descent.' Others again say: 'here he gently laid down the burden that had been a sweet burden to him *along* the steep cliff.' May not 'soave' (if it cannot be taken adverbially) refer not to 'carco' but to Virgil? It would then mean 'tender, or sweet to me by reason of the rough and steep ridge': that is, Dante felt the tenderness of his help all the more deeply on account of the steep ascent. **Scoglio**, the bridge, or rather the rugged ascent leading up to the 'arco' itself. See on l. 8. **Sconcio**, rugged; perhaps from Lat. 'disconcinnus,' untidy.

CANTO XX.

ARGUMENT.

In the fourth bolgia are Sorcerers, Augurs, and False Diviners. They circle in slow procession along the bottom of the fosse—walking backwards; for their heads are twisted round, so that they cannot see to walk forward. Among them are described many well-known characters, such as Amphiaraus, Tiresias, Manto, and Michael Scot. But now the moon is touching the western wave beneath Seville—it is an hour past sunrise on Saturday morning—and they must proceed.

CANTO XXI.

ARGUMENT.

From the arch of the fifth fosse are seen the 'Barterers'—those who have made merchandise of their high authority in Church or State. They are immersed in boiling pitch (as the murderers in blood, Canto xii), over which hover demons armed with hooks, ready to grapple any that appear above the surface. Malacoda, the chief of these demons, gives the poets an escort of ten, but maliciously misdirects them, so that instead of continuing their path along the cliff they are led to the left, skirting the inner edge of the fosse.

l. 1. **di ponte in ponte altro.** They had already passed the bridges of four fosses, and now 'held the summit' of the fifth bridge. (Cp. Convito, iv. 23.)

l. 2. In the last canto (xx. 112) Virgil called his Aeneid 'l'alta mia tragedia.' Dante had already called his own poem 'a comedy' (xvi. 128). No serious compositions seem to have been written in the vulgar Italian of that day. The rude attempts of the native Muse had as yet been confined almost entirely to love songs and ballads, written in the Sicilian and Tuscan '*lingua cortegiana*,' and founded upon Provençal and Moorish poetry. Dante himself was at one time not free from the prejudice against his mother tongue, having even begun to write his *Commedia* in Latin, thus:

'Ultima regna canam, fluido contermina mundo,
 Spiritibus quae lata patent, quae praemia solvunt
 Pro meritis cuicunque suis.' (Frate Ilario's letter.)

Having however renounced the language of Virgil, Dante seems to have renounced the lofty style of Latin epic—and indeed it is fortunate that he did so, to judge from the specimen of his Latin version that remains. He has given in his letter to Can Grande a long and quaint comment on the name of his poem; and he concludes thus—‘If we consider the subject, in the beginning it is horrible and ill-savoured, since it begins with Hell; but in the end, it is happy, pleasant and desirable, for it ends with Paradise. If we regard the style, it is loose and far from the sublime, seeing that it is written in the vulgar tongue, which women and children speak.’ *Commedía* here (and in xvi. 128), and ‘tragedía’ (xx. 112) are accented on the penultimate, contrary to general usage.

1. 5. *vani*. Some take this to mean ‘unreal’—i. e. the lamentations of the dead (B.); but it is probably merely ‘vain.’

1. 7. *arzanà* is a word of oriental origin. The Arabic ‘al sanat’ is the ‘work-shop’: hence (or from ‘Daresz sanat,’ the house of work) comes ‘Teršana,’ the name of a part of the harbour of Constantinople, and ‘Darsena,’ the state arsenal of Genoa. Some MSS. read ‘Arsenà,’ and others ‘Arsenal’; but *arzanà* has the best MSS. in its favour, and ‘more nearly approaches the common pronunciation of that word in Venetian.’ (B.) *Viniziani* is an old form of ‘Veneziani,’ though farther removed than it from the Latin (Veneti). No one who has visited Venice will fail to remember the great docks of the Arsenal and the Darsena Novissima, and the many mementos of a glorious age guarded by the lion of the Peiræus. It was about 1307 that Andrea Pisano is said to have enclosed the docks with their two-mile line of battlemented walls.

1. 9. Dryden has described a similar scene, and has evidently imitated this passage.

‘So here some pick out bullets from the side,
Some drive old oakum through each seam and rift:
Their left hand does the caulking iron guide,
The rattling mallet with the right they lift.

With boiling pitch another near at hand,
From friendly Sweden brought, the seams instops:
Which, well paid o’er, the salt sea-waves withstand,
And shakes them from the rising beak in drops.

Some the galled ropes with dawby marline bind,
Or sear-cloth masts with strong tarpawling coats:
To try new shrouds one mounts into the wind,
And one below their ease or stiffness marks.’

(Annus Mirabilis.)

Rimpalmare means 'to caulk.' The modern equivalent is 'calafatare' (Fr. *calfater*) or 'rimpeciare.' It is not known what the word is derived from. **Legni**, ships (iii. 93, viii. 28).

l. 10. **Chè** must be taken with **l'inverno**: 'In winter when ...' or 'because.' **Ponno** is contracted from 'possono' (xxxiii. 30). **In quella vece**, i. e. 'invece di navigare.' (Fr.)

l. 11. **Chi ... chi**, one ... another: 'Quale ... quale' is used similarly (Purg. vi. 5). **Far ... nuovo**, builds anew. **Ristoppare** (Lat. 'stuppa,' oakum; or Germ. 'stopfen?'), to plug. Cp. Dryden's 'instops.'

l. 13. **Proda** for 'prora,' as 'rado' for 'raro.' (B.) **Proda** (xvii. 5, etc.) generally means a 'shore.'

l. 14. **Volge sarte**, twists ropes. The word **sarte** is only found in the plural. The modern 'sarchie' (or 'sartie?') is used for 'shrouds.' Cp. xxvii. 81, 'raccogliere le sarte.' (Lat. 'sartus,' or perhaps 'spartum,' Spanish 'esparto?').

l. 15. **Terzeruolo**, the jib or foresail. The word would properly mean the third sail, and in ships possessing a mainsail and a mizen ('artimone') it would be the foresail. **Terzeruolo** now means 'a reef'; as 'mettere o prendere terzeruolo.' **Artimon** (*ἀρτέμων*, Acts. xxvii. 40), probably the 'mizen sail' ('mezzana'). **Rintoppare** (Germ. 'stopfen,' B.), to mend, lit. to stop. 'Rintoppo' means a hindrance (xxxiii. 95).

l. 17. **Pegolo**: 'dal lat. *pigula*, diminutivo di *pix*.' (Fr.) **Inviscava**, limed (C.): derived from Lat. 'viscum,' bird-lime.

l. 19. **Lei** is the accusative. 'But I saw not in it more than ...' **Ma'** is a short form of Lat. 'magis,' more. **Ma' che** (or 'macchè') is used also in iv. 27: 'Non avea pianto ma' che di sospiri' (cp. xxviii. 66). Cp. the Spanish or Provençal 'mas que.' (Fr.)

l. 21. **gonfiar tutta**: this depends on **videa**. 'And saw it all swell, and subside compressed.' 'Gonfiare' is the Lat. 'conflare': cp. 'gastigare,' v. 51.

l. 25. **cui tarda**, to whom it seems long till ...; i. e. who longs to see: or, as the Italians say, 'cui sembra mill'anni di vedere.' (Fr.) Cp. ix. 9.

l. 27. **sgagliarda**, unman. (L.) 'Gagliardo' is 'brave.' See v. 131. **Indugiare**, to put off; from Lat. 'induciae' (truce). The meaning is, that though he looks behind, yet he takes to flight; i. e. he looks back while fleeing.

l. 32. **acerbo** must be taken with **quanto**: 'how bitter he seemed to me in gesture.' (Cl.) **Con l'ale aperte**, as v. 83, Purg. ix. 21 (quoted xvii. 129). There are two forms of the plural 'ali' and 'ale.'

l. 34. **Superbo**, in the original meaning 'lofty.' A street is called 'superba' (steep) in Purg. iv. 41; and 'viste superbe' (Par. xxx. 91)

seems to be 'exalted vision.' Plautus uses 'auferri superbum' of a man being carried on another's shoulders. For *anche* see on xxxiv. 77.

l. 36. *ghermire*, to clutch: used especially of predatory animals which seize with their claws or talons. *Il nerbo* probably means the tendon Achillis, round which he would find the firmest grip.

l. 37. *Dal nostro ponte*. Some take this to mean 'from our bridge' sc. 'disse': i. e. the demon spoke from the bridge. Others translate 'He said, O Malebranche of our bridge.' Malebranche (Evil-claws) is the general name of these 'diavoli neri.'

l. 38. Anziani in Lucca answered to the Florentine Priori. See p. xxx. Santa Zita is the favourite patron saint of Lucca. Her body is still preserved in the church of San Frediano. See Ampère, 'Voyage Dantesque' (Lucques). This man's name is said to have been Martino Bottai, who died in 1300.

l. 39. 'Thrust him beneath.' The demons are armed with hooks, and, as is shewn below, effectually keep these wretches below the surface of the pitch. *Per anche*, again; as 'io credea tornar anche' (xxxiv. 81). Or translate 'for more.' *Anche* is a form of 'ancora' or 'anco,' and can be used for 'altri.' Cp. Ariosto (34. 91), 'Portarne via non si vedea mai stanco Un vecchio, e ritornar per anco.' For the rhyme see viii. 93, and cp. xxxiv. 81. *N'è*: see v. 13.

l. 41. *fuor che Bonturo*, 'except Bonturo,' who was the vilest 'barterer' in all Lucca, according to Benvenuta da Imola. He was of the family Dati. This form of irony is repeated in 'Tranne lo Stricca' (xxix. 125). Cp. also xxvi. ad init.

l. 42. *Ita*: the Latin word 'ita' ('ita est,' 'ita vero') is used by Plautus and others as an exact equivalent for 'yes.' Dante is fond of this form of expression: cp. viii. 111, xviii. 61, xxiv. 100, xxxiii. 80, etc. There is no need to follow Fr. in his fanciful explanation—'e anche può intendersi che del *no* si faccia *ita*, facendo un *i* e un *t* delle due aste dell' *n*, e facendo dell' *o* un *a*, aggiungendovi una linea curva.' *Vi*, there; i. e. in Lucca.

l. 43. *buttare*, to throw; not used elsewhere in the Divine Comedy. *Botto* or 'butto' (French 'but'?) means 'a stroke': 'di botto' (xxii. 130) is 'suddenly.'

l. 45. *furo*, an old word (Lat. 'fur') for 'ladro.' It is used as an adjective (xxvii. 127), 'fuoco furo,' thievish fire; meaning a flame which so envelopes as to 'steal the sinner from sight' (xxvi. 41).

l. 46. *s'attuffò*: see viii. 53. *Convolto* may mean 'rolled in the pitch,' 'besmeared,' or else 'bent together.' Some go so far as to say that it means 'bent in the attitude of prayer,' and that it is this posture which excites the jeers of the demons. Carlyle translates it 'writhing convolved,' Cary 'writhing,' Longfellow 'face downward.' I cannot

but believe that it merely means 'turned round,' as is explained more fully in a similar passage (xvi. 133):

'Sì come torna colui, che va giuso
Talora a solver ancora, ch' aggrappa
O scoglio od altro, che nel mare è chiuso
Che in su si stende, e da' piè si rattappa.'

He was evidently cast in head-foremost, and 'turned round' so as to come up head-foremost.

l. 48. **il santo Volto**, the sacred Face, is a crucifix, which tradition alleges to be the work of Nicodemus, and which is still preserved in the cathedral of Lucca. See Ampère, 'Voyage Dantesque' (Lucques). The meaning is, 'here no forms and ceremonies can profit thee.' The Serchio is a river near Lucca.

l. 51. **soverchio**, lit. excess. As in Lat. 'superare' and Gr. *ὑπερέχειν*, the original idea is that of 'standing out' above the common level. Hence **far soverchio** is 'to uplift oneself above.'

l. 53. **Covertò**, i. e. 'sotto la pegola.' **Ballare** (Low Lat. 'ballare,' perhaps connected with Grk. *πάλλειν*, *βάλλειν*: cp. 'ballata'), to dance. **Accaffare** (not used elsewhere in the Divine Comedy), to pilfer. The derivation seems uncertain.

l. 55. **a' lor vassalli . . .**: for the construction see viii. 59 and v. 26. **In mezzo la caldaia**, in the middle of the caldron. The more usual construction would be 'in mezzo della caldaia' (cp. i. 1), but the former is found elsewhere, as 'Per mezzo Toscano' (Purg. xxiv. 16). It is a common Florentine form of expression. Cp. Petrarch, Canzone xviii. 'in mezzo l' alma.'

l. 57. **perchè non galli**, in order that it may not rise. 'Gallare' (more commonly 'galleggiare') is 'to strut like a cock,' and thus 'to be puffed up' (Purg. x. 127). Hence it means 'to lift oneself up,' 'to rise to the surface' ('venire a galla'). Some connect it with the buoyancy of the *gall* nut (!)

l. 58. **Paia**: see v. 75. **Ci**, here, v. 13. **S'acquattare**, to squat: cp. 'quatto quatto' (l. 89).

l. 60. **scheggio**: see xiii. 43. **Haia** for 'abbia'; probably here the second person, although in 'c' haia La sua radice' (Par. xvii. 140) it is the third. 'That you may have some shelter.'

l. 62. **conte**, learnt (cognitus). See iii. 76, and cp. x. 39. This passage is like ix. 22. Virgil more than once mentions his previous descent to the lower Hell. **Baratta**, encounter or strife; whence 'barattare,' to dispute about bargains, and 'barattiere,' l. 41. Cp. Dittam. ii. 23, 'La mortal baratta Che fe col Saracin.'

l. 64. **dal co'**, from the head. **Co'** for 'capo' is used also (xx. 76), 'a torre mette co',' of a river 'making head.'

l. 68. Cp. l. 44. **Escono**, from 'uscire.' **Chiede**, asks alms. **Addosso** is used of the dog-like attack of the Malebranche in xxii. 41: cp. 'ficare li denti addosso,' xxx. 35.

l. 71. **roncigli**, hooks. 'Roncare' (Lat. 'runcare'), to weed: hence 'ronca,' a scythe or bill-hook. Cp. xxii. 1. For **fello** see xvii. 132.

l. 74. **Traggasi**, let him bring himself. See xiii. 22. **Si consigli**, let him take counsel. The active 'consigliare' means 'to give counsel' (cp. *βουλεύειν, βουλεύεσθαι*). For the form of the subjunctive see xvii. 92.

l. 76. 'Let Malacoda go.' Malacoda, or Evil-tail, is the chief of these Malebranche, and acts as their spokesman. Cary translates wrongly 'Go, Malacoda.'

l. 78. **Che t' approda?** The meaning of these words is very doubtful. Some take 'approdare' to mean 'to conduct,' and read 'chi' or 'che,' 'who (or what) brings you here?' Others translate, 'what avails thee?' i. e. how wilt thou by parley escape our hooks. Another, and perhaps a better, reading is 'che gli approda.' Malacoda advances, saying to himself, or to his fellow-demons, 'what will this avail him?' (Cl.) The word 'approdare' is used once again in the Divine Comedy (Purg. xiii. 67) evidently with the second meaning: 'Come agli orbi non approda il sole,' as to the blind the sun availeth not (Lat. 'prodesse').

l. 81. **schermi**, lit. defences, i. e. opposition, or weapons. **Destro** (Lat. dexter), propitious.

l. 83. Cp. iii. 95, v. 23, and vii. 11 foll., where Plutus at a similar rebuke falls to the ground, 'as sails swollen by the wind fall entangled when the mast breaks.'

l. 89. **scheggione** is an augmentative form of 'scheggia' or 'scheggio' (l. 60). **Quatto quatto**, crouching, cowering. See l. 59, and xiii. 128.

l. 92. **si fecer tutti avanti**, all came forward. **Temetti non**: see xvii. 76.

l. 94. **fanti**, footmen; from Lat. 'infans,' child: hence servant, 'boy,' retainer, &c. **Patteggiati**, under truce (patto). In August 1290 the Lucchese, with the assistance of Florentine troops, besieged Caprona, a fortress held by the Pisans on the Arno. Being forced by want of water, the garrison surrendered, and were allowed a safe conduct to the Pisan territory. Many of the common people of Florence and Lucca had assembled to see them march past, and accosted their unarmed enemies with shouts of 'impicca, impicca' ('hang them! hang them!'). Dante was probably present at the siege itself (see p. xxxvi). 'I pressed alongside my leader with all my body,' i. e. sheltered myself entirely by him. Cp. (x. 29) 'm'accostai . . . un poco più al Duca mio.'

l. 100. 'Wilt thou that I touch him (with my hook) on the back.' **Groppone**, augmentative form of 'groppa' (xvii. 80). **Raffio** ('ra-pire'? cp. Germ. 'raffen'), a drag-hook (Cl.).

l. 102. *accoccare*, to notch; from 'cocca' (xvii. 136). *Gliele*: see x. 44.

l. 105. *Posa* (imperative from 'posare'), stop. *Scarmiglione* probably means 'Great Unkempt' (Cl.): from 'scarmigliare,' to ruffle.

l. 107. The *scoglio* is the radial dyke, running across the fosses. Malacoda says truly that the arch over the sixth fosse is broken, for all the arches of all the dykes are broken. He lies however in saying that there is one dyke unbroken, towards which he directs them, in the hope that by misleading them, and conducting them along the edge of his fosse, he may yet have the opportunity of working them some evil. In xxiii. 133-147 it is told how Virgil discovers and is indignant at the treachery of the demon.

l. 108. *Spezzato*, shattered. See xix. 27.

l. 110. 'Go hence along by this cavern,' i. e. along the inner edge of the fifth fosse.

l. 112. 'Yesterday, five hours later than this hour.' At the end of the last canto the moon was said to be 'touching the wave under Seville.' It was therefore, when they were leaving the fourth fosse, about an hour after sunrise on Saturday morning, 26th March, 1300. By this time it is about ten o'clock in the morning. Five hours later than ten on the preceding day would be three o'clock on Good Friday (i. e. 'the ninth hour,' Matt. xxvii. 46). Christ (according to Dante, Convito iv. 25, and others of the early writers) lived thirty-four years (not thirty-three years and three months), which added to 1266 will give 1300 full years. The 25th March was the first day of the year, according to the old calendar, therefore the descent was made not in 1300, but on the first day of 1301. See on i. 1. *Otta*, a form of 'ora': see v. 53. The descent of Christ into Hell is mentioned also in Canto iv., where He is said to have liberated certain patriarchs from Limbo. In Canto xii. the rocks on the steep descent to the seventh circle are said to have been shattered by His advent. Cp. also viii. 126, where the portal of Hell is said to have been burst by Him, and to have remained unbarred ever after. Ampère relates how the broken rock of Alvernia, between the sources of the Arno and Tiber, is still haunted by a similar legend. (*Voyage Dantesque*: La Vallée de l'Arno.)

l. 114. *compîêr*: 'compierono,' from 'compire' or 'compiere' (comple); in this neuter sense, 'to end.' Cp. (xxiii. 34) 'Già non compio di tal consiglio rendere.'

l. 115. 'I am sending some of my (demons) toward that part.' *Sciorina*, 'is airing himself': from 'aura' (? B.): or cp. Greek *σκία*. *Ne* is probably 'above the pitch,' and not merely expletive. See v. 13.

l. 117. *rei*, treacherous. (Cl.) This is an admission of Malacoda's design, and seems to have excited Dante's mistrust, l. 126 sq. *Trâtti*,

(cp. 'traggasi,' l. 74) for 'traì' or 'traggiti': cp. xxix. 125. The translations of these names are Bent-wings, Trample-grace, Dog-face, Crisp-beard, Scarlet-moor, Dragon-face, Swiny, Dog-scratcher, Hell-bat (?), Red-hot. (Cl.)

l. 120. *la decina*, the ten; as 'cinquina,' 'dozzina' etc. *Sannuto*, tusked. 'Sanna' or 'zanna' is a tooth or tusk. Cp. Germ. 'Zahn,' and also Grk. *σάννιον* (*saínw*) and Lat. 'sanna.'

l. 123. *pazzo*, mad: perhaps connected with Lat. 'patior,' 'passus.' *Pane* for 'panie,' pl. of 'pania,' bird-lime. Boccaccio uses the same form: 'Inviscata in l' amorose pane.' (Fr.)

l. 125. 'Let these be brought safely to . . . ' For *insino* cp. viii. 111. *Tana* (Fr. 'tanière,' i. e. 'taissonière'; cp. 'taisson,' a badger), a den: used in its proper sense xxiv. 126, where Pistoia is called a den of beasts. It is said to be from 'tasso' (Lat. *taxus*), 'a yew tree,' i. e. a dismal and dark place. It seems however to be connected with A.S. 'dene' or 'den.'

l. 129. 'If thou knowest the way.' Cp. l. 63 and ref. *Cheggio*, and *chieggo*, are forms of 'chiedo,' I ask. See x. 82. *La*; sc. 'scorta.'

l. 130. *Accorto*: iii. 13. *Digrignan li denti*, grin their teeth (Cl.): i. e. shew their teeth in grinning; here used as an active verb. Cp. l. 134, and xxii. 91, which are the only passages where it is used. Connected with Lat. 'ringor.' Cp. also Eng. 'grin,' Fr. 'grincer' (said by Brachet to be from Old High Germ. 'gremizôn').

l. 133. *Vo'* for 'voglio': see on i. 112. *A lor senno*; to their mind, i. e. as much as they will.

l. 135. *lessi*, boiled (Lat. *elixus*). Some read 'lesi' (xiii. 47) or 'lassi.' Virgil seems to have had no suspicion of the intended fraud, which Dante had observed. It is not easy to see why the hitherto wary (*accorto*) leader should have failed in this instance.

l. 136. *sinistro*: see ix. 132. *Dare volta*, lit. to give a turn; used for 'ritornare' in *Purg.* v. 41, etc. Here it is merely 'turned.'

l. 137. 'Pressed the tongue with the teeth toward their captain as a sign.' This may mean that they protruded their tongues (as the usurer in xvii. 75), or else pressed the tongue against the teeth to make a clucking noise. *Duca*: i. e. *Barbariccia*, who is leading the ten (l. 120). He is afterwards called 'il decurio' (xxii. 74) and 'il gran proposto' (xxii. 94).

CANTO XXII.

ARGUMENT.

Escorted by the ten demons the poets skirt the inner slope of the fifth fosse. Below them, in the boiling pitch, the Barterers are ever rising to the surface like dolphins, or thrusting out their muzzles, as frogs, in order to gain some relief from their torment. As Barbariccia and his Evil-claws approach they vanish beneath the surface—all save one, whom Graffiacane hooks and hauls up like an otter. Virgil questions him, but with difficulty, for the demons are eager to tear him, and are scarcely restrained by their Captain. By a clever device the Barterer makes his escape; whereupon Calabrina in chagrin turns his talons upon Alichino, and they both fall into the pitch. The heat soon ‘unclutches’ them, but they cannot rise from the sticky filth until four of their fellows drag them forth with hooks.

l. 1. **muover campo**, move camp. Cp. ‘tener lo campo,’ to hold the field, i.e. to remain victor (Purg. xi. 95). **Campo**, from Lat. ‘campus’ is originally named ‘a field.’ Cp. ‘campo maligno’ (xviii. 4). In the other sense it is not used elsewhere in the Divine Comedy.

l. 2. **Stormo**; from Germ. ‘sturm,’ an assault. **Mostra**, review, or muster; from ‘mostrare’ to shew. ‘And sometimes retreating in order to escape.’

l. 4. **Corridor**, skirmishers. The word seems to be used of cavalry. Longfellow translates ‘vaunt-couriers.’ The event here referred to is the battle of Campaldino, or Certomondo, which took place, according to Sismondi, on June 11, 1289, and at which Dante was present. In Arezzo the aristocratic party had (1287) seized the chief power, and had opened an asylum to all fugitive Ghibelins. Pisa and Arezzo then joined arms against the Guelphs of Florence and Sienna, but after a brilliant victory gained over the Siennese, the battle of Campaldino turned the scale in favour of the popular party. The skirmishers seem to have made an impression on Dante, because at the commencement of the fight the advanced cavalry of the Aretines completely routed the Florentine horse. A fragment of one of Dante’s letters relates that he was present on this occasion. Cp. xxi. 94, where, as we have seen, Dante states that he was also at the siege of Caprona, which took place in the next year.

Some take **corridor** merely to mean the combatants in mock fights. Cp. Villani, iii. 85.

ll. 5, 6. 'And I have seen foragers go forth, tournaments clash, and jousts run.' The construction after **vidi** is probably changed, and **gualdane** is not the subject to **ferir** and **correr**. See on v. 26, viii. 59. 'Gualdana' is perhaps connected with Germ. 'wald.' 'A joust differs from a tournament in this, that in the former men fight in single combat with the object of unhorsing one another, while in the latter troop engages with troop until one be overcome.' (Fr.) Perhaps however these words are here used for the real encounters of cavalry.

l. 7. **Campane**. The reference is probably to the Martinella, or the Campana degli Asini, a bell which was rung for thirty days before commencing hostilities 'that the enemy might have full time to prepare himself.' It was hung in the arch of the Porta Santa Maria; but, when the army took the field, it was taken from the gate and placed in a wooden shrine upon the Carroccio. This Carroccio is described by Villani (vi. 75) as 'a four-wheeled waggon, painted red, having two huge red masts, between which fluttered the standard of the state, half gules, half argent: and a yoke of oxen with red trappings drew the car.' It seems however that the oxen were housed with white or red according to the faction. Ancient paintings represent this Ark with two, four, and six oxen, and with a mast surmounted by a cross or a golden ball. (Napier, Flor. Hist. i. 214.) The driver of the Carroccio was a person of high position in the state. He was exempt from taxation, and enjoyed various other privileges. For further details see Villani, l. c., Longfellow, xxii. 7, note, and Symonds, Introd. to Study of Dante, p. 16. The word 'Campana' is said to be derived from Campania, in which country (at Nola) bells were first cast by the Italians.

l. 8. **cenni di castella**, castle-signals (Cl.); i. e. fire beacons.

l. 10. **cennamella** is evidently some wind-instrument, such as a cornet. It is derived from Lat. 'canna,' or 'calamus,' through the usual diminutive form of medieval Latin, viz. 'cannamella' or 'calamella.' Cp. French 'chalumeau.' The Cruscan ed. gives 'ceramella' as a variation, and others read 'cialamella' and 'ciaramella.' **Diversa** is here used for 'strana.'

l. 15. **ghiottoni**, gluttons; from Lat. 'glutus' a throat. In Persius v. 112 'gluto' is perhaps the nominative form, 'a glutton': see Conington on Pers. i. 12. The proverb of course alludes to the kind of company that one must put up with in Hell.

ll. 16, 17. **Pure**, only: see v. 21, note. For **pegola** cp. xxi. 17. **Contegno**, in xvii. 60, means 'attitude,' and it probably has that meaning here, viz. 'condition' (cp. iii. 34), but it may be equivalent to 'il contenuto,' i. e. 'all that the chasm contained.' Cp. 'contento,' ii. 77.

The latter explanation seems to be proved wrong by what follows, 'E della gente.' Moreover the former is an expression far more in the manner of Dante.

l. 18. *incesa*, burnt. The form 'incenso' is also used (xxiv. 110).

l. 20. *schiena* is the spine, or back. Cp. Germ. 'schiene,' A. S. 'scyne,' Eng. 'shin,' 'chine,' 'chin,' 'Lat. 'gena,' etc., all of which words seem to mean a projecting ridge.

l. 21. 'That they may take counsel to save their ship.' The appearance of porpoises warns them of a coming squall.

l. 24. 'In less time than it lightens.' For the repetition of the negative cp. viii. 30.

l. 26. *ranocchio*, a frog, is from the diminutive Latin 'ranunculus.' See ix. 76, note. For *pur* cp. l. 16.

l. 27. *grosso*, bulk. The word is used as a substantive also in xix. 24: 'al grosso delle gambe.' Cp. xxxiv. 77.

l. 30. *Così* follows 'come,' l. 29, 'suddenly.' It may possibly be joined to 'come' l. 25, and mean 'as frogs.' But cp. 'come fatto fui... così' (Purg. xix. 107).

l. 31. *accapricciarsi* (or 'raccapricciarsi') is perhaps derived from 'capo' and 'riccio,' and means 'to have one's hair stand on end.' It seems to be more naturally connected with Lat. 'caper,' Eng. 'caprice,' 'skip,' etc. Translate 'shudders.' Others discover in it the same root as appears in 'break,' and 'freak,' preceded by a prefix 'ca,' 'as in *camaglio*' (?) With this line cp. iii. 131, viii. 60, and xxiv. 84, 'che la memoria il sangue ancor scipa'; and xxx. 153, 'ch' ancor per la memoria mi si gira.' A similar passage (xxiii. 19) perhaps supports the first derivation: 'Già mi sentia tutti arricciar li peli Dalla paura.'

ll. 32, 33. *com'egli incontra ch'*... as it happens that... *Spicciare* is perhaps connected with Germ. 'spritzen.' It means 'to spurt away.' Cp. 'ove spiccia... un fiumicello' (xiv. 76).

l. 34. *più di contra*, lit. more opposite, i. e. nearer. The expression is still used in Tuscany for 'dirimpetto.' (Fr.) Cp. 'di rincontro.'

l. 35. *arroncigliò*, grappled. See xxi. 71. The description of this unfortunate wretch, hauled up from the pitch like an otter, is said by Fuseli to have inspired Michael Angelo in conceiving a certain figure in his Last Judgment. It is difficult to discover the figure. The Minos and Charon of Dante are more easily recognised.

l. 37. *tutti quanti*: see iii. 106. Dante says that he knew the names of the demons, for he had marked them well when Malacoda chose them (xxi. 118).

l. 39. *si chiamaro*, called each other. This is the reciprocal force of the reflexive. Cp. 'l'umana gente si rabbuffa,' men buffet each other

(vii. 63). Cp. also iii. 1, viii. 49, and xiii. 88. Some however translate the present passage 'when they were called,' sc. by Malacoda.

l. 41. **unghione**, talons, is an augmentative form from 'unghia.' **Scuoiare**, to flay (see on v. 131). Some read 'ingoiare,' which means 'to swallow,' and is evidently corrupt. For **addosso** cp. xxi. 68: it is used of claws or teeth laying hold 'upon' the flesh.'

l. 44. **sciagurato**, ill-starred; Lat. 'exauguratus.' The contracted form 'sciaurato' is used in iii. 64.

l. 46. **dallato** or 'da lato' is used also in xiv. 83, xxxii. 119. Some read 'a lato.' The preposition **da** (as Lat. 'ex' or 'ab') is often used with no sense of motion; thus 'dal sinistro canto' (ix. 46); 'da proda . . . da poppa' (xxi. 13); 'là da Tagliacozza,' there at Tagliacozza (xxviii. 17). Sometimes it even seems to mean 'towards,' as in 'dalle reni era tornato il volto,' which must mean 'turned towards the back.' Cp. l. 146, where some translate 'to the other shore.' In xxiv. 73 we find 'fa che tu arrivi Dall' altro cinghio,' which is generally translated 'to the other boundary' (Cl.): but if 'cinghio' be taken to mean the fosse itself, the force of 'da' will be 'past' or 'to the other side.' Cp. 'di là,' 'di lontano,' etc.: and notice that 'da' often means 'to' in such expressions as 'buono da mangiare.' If 'da' be a contraction of 'de-ad,' it is easy to see why its meaning varies. Fauriel, speaking of the prepositions, says that 'da' is purely Italian, while all the others are Latin.

l. 48. The name of this wretch is said to have been Ciampolo. Nothing more is known about him for certain. Dante adds that he was the son of a spendthrift, and was placed by his mother in the retinue of a baron, and then was a domestic at the court of Thibault.

l. 50. **Che**, because. **Ribaldo** is of uncertain origin. Cp. French 'ribaud' and 'ribault.'

l. 52. **famiglio**, a domestic. Many MSS. read 'famiglia,' which means 'all the servants of a house, or one only.' (Cl.) Cp. Lat. 'familia,' used of the whole household, all of whom were under the same patria potestas. This Thibault was probably Thibault II king of Navarre (not, as Cary says, Thibault I: nor, as Longfellow, Thibault IV), the poet and crusader. Dante quotes in his *Vulg. Eloq.* (i. 9 and ii. 4) a verse written by him. See p. lxvii. His works were published in Paris (1742) by M. l'Evêque de la Ravallière. He was born in 1240, ascended the throne in 1253, was at Tunis with St. Louis, and died in 1270. Others say that his father was the poet.

l. 54. **rendo ragione**, give account. Cp. Lat. 'dare poenas.' The words seem to refer to his 'giving an account' of an evil stewardship.

l. 56. **D' ogni parte**; i. e. from each side of his mouth. Cp. xxi. 122.

Sanna or 'zanna' is evidently connected with Germ. 'zahn': cp. also Latin 'sanna,' a grin. See xxxiii. 35 for another form.

ll. 57, 58. **l'una**, sc. 'sanna.' **Sdrucia** (sdruciva), ripped. The word 'sdrucire' means 'to unsew,' or 'tear open.' The derivation is unknown (destruct-io?) **Sorco**, a mouse, an old form of 'sorcio.' Cp. the forms 'roccia' and 'rocca,' 'imperio' and 'impero,' 'pania' and 'pane,' 'materia' and 'matera,' etc.

l. 60. **in là**, aside. **Inforcare** is to 'hold fast between the arms or legs.' It is used of a man bestriding a horse (Purg. vi. 99), and of the constellation Montone (the Ram) covering and bestriding a space of the sky (Purg. viii. 135). It is therefore wrong to translate, as Cary, 'While I do fix him on my prong transpierced.' The context shows that **Barbariccia** wished to save him from the attacks of the other demons, until Virgil had finished questioning him.

l. 64. 'Tell me of the other sinners.' See on ix. 111.

l. 65. **latino**, i.e. Italian. Cp. 'questi è latino' (xxvii. 33) and 'Dinne s'alcun latino e tra costoro' (xxix. 88). In the *Convito* (iv. 28) he calls Guido Montefeltrano 'il nobilissimo nostro latino'; and in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (written originally in Latin) the word 'Latini' is constantly used as equivalent to 'Italiani.' Cp. Petrarch's 'gentil sangue latino.'

l. 67. **Poco è**, just now. In such expressions, when we speak of a space of time, 'ci' and 'vi' are not used: as 'sono due anni che...' or 'cio accade due mesi fa.' (See Vergani, xv. obs.) Cp. the use of French 'il y a.' **Di là vicino**, i.e. beyond Italy, but neighbouring. He was a native of Sardinia, and this island would be to Dante (who was beneath Jerusalem) 'beyond' Italy.

l. 68. **Così foss'io**, would that I were! Cp. 'Così foss'ei' (xxvi. 11). 'Se' is used somewhat similarly. See x. 82, note.

l. 71. 'Seized his arm with the hook.' For **ronciglio** see on xxi. 71. All the editions read 'runciglio' in this passage, and 'ronciglio' in the preceding canto. Foscolo was the first to observe the inconsistency. (B.)

l. 72. **ne portò un lacerto**, tore off from it a sinew. **Lacerto** is properly the upper arm. **Stracciare**, to rend, is the Lat. 'distrahere' or 'distractare.' Cp. 'strazio' (viii. 58).

l. 73. **anch'ei** repeats the subject, 'he too.' Some however read 'anch'i,' explaining 'i' as the dative. See l. 127. **Dar di piglio**, take a snatch. **Piglio** is the 'act of grasping' (il pigliare). It is used of the hands or of the eyes (see l. 75). Cp. 'Che dier nel sangue e nell'aver di piglio,' who laid violent hands on, or dealt in, blood and plunder. The same expression is used in xxiv. 24, 'e diedemi di piglio.'

l. 74. **Decurio**. A decurio in the Roman army was a captain of a

squadron of ten. The word therefore accurately applies to Barbariccia, who was commissioned to 'lead the ten' (xxi. 120). The Lat. form is used instead of 'decurione,' as 'Scipio' for 'Scipione,' 'Dido' for 'Didone,' etc. (v. 85).

l. 75. **intorno intorno**: see xiii. 128, note. **Con mal piglio**, with evil glance. See on l. 73. Cp. our expression to 'snatch a glance.' In xxiv. 20 the word is used of a benign aspect: 'con quel piglio dolce.' For the rhyme see iii. 93.

l. 76. **elli**. The form 'ello' for 'egli' is used in l. 92 and in xviii. 88. **Elli** is also used for the singular (Purg. xix. 86). 'Elli' and 'elle' are found in iv. 34, x. 77, iii. 67, etc. Dante uses these forms especially after prepositions (iii. 27, 42, xxix. 23, xxxii. 124, etc.). **Furo** is for 'furono.' **Rappaciati**, pacified; from Lat. 'pacare.'

l. 77. **mirava**: notice the force of the imperfect, 'kept still gazing at.' **Dimoro** for 'dimora.' Cp. 'dimando' and 'dimanda' (xix. 78), 'buco' for 'buca' (xxxii. 2), 'balestro' for 'balestra' (xxxii. 83).

l. 81. **Frate Gomita**. This Friar Gomita was entrusted by Nino de' Visconti of Pisa, nephew to Count Ugolino ('Giudice Nin gentil,' Purg. viii. 53), with the government of Gallura, the north-east province of Sardinia, which island at that time was under Pisan dominion, and divided into four Jurisdictions.

l. 82. Cp. Ariosto, 'Di tutti i vizi il vaso.'

l. 83. **Donno**, lord. Although the fem. form 'donna' (Lat. *domina*) is in constant use, the masculine 'donno' is not very common, except as a title. Cp. l. 88 and xxxiii. 28. It possibly comes through the Spanish. (B.) Longfellow says that the word is still used in Sardinia for 'signore.' 'Who had the enemies of his lord in his power, and so did to them that they all praise him for it.' The parable of the unjust steward seems to underlie this passage. Cp. on l. 54. With **ebbe in mano** cp. 'recar alle sue mani,' Purg. xi. 123, and l. 45.

l. 85. **Denar si tolse**: see on xiii. 105. This is the indirect use of the reflective middle: 'si tolse' in l. 123 is an example of the direct. **Lascioli di piano**, dismissed them smoothly. (Cl.) But **di piano** is probably the Lat. 'de plano,' which is used of unofficial judgments, not pronounced 'e tribunali.' It may be an old Italian or Sardinian legal phrase. The evident meaning in this passage is 'without his master's knowledge or authority.' Lucretius however uses the Latin 'de plano' in its secondary meaning: 'de plano promittere,' to promise easily. The words **si com' e' dice** seem to prove that the phrase was uncommon, or peculiar to Sardinia.

l. 88. **Usa**, keeps company with. Cp. Lat. 'uti.' This Don Michele Zanche was the governor of Logodoro, the north-west Jurisdiction of Sardinia. Enzo, a natural son of Frederick II, had married Alasia,

daughter of Mariano III of Logodoro and widow of Baldo II of Gallura, and with her had received these provinces. Alasia died in 1243, leaving Pope Gregory IX her heir, but Enzo retained possession of the provinces, and was created king of Sardinia by his father. In 1249 he was taken prisoner by the Bolognese; and it was then that his Seneschal Zanche usurped the power and married the mother (others say the wife) of Enzo. Zanche was murdered by Branca d' Oria (xxxiii. 136).

l. 91. *l' altro*, i. e. Farfarello. For *digrigna* see xxi. 131.

ll. 92, 93. 'I would speak more, but I fear that he is preparing to scratch my scurf.' For the construction see xvii. 76. *Grattare* is probably the Germ. 'kratzen.' *Tigna* (Lat. *tinea*?) is sometimes used for any troublesome or disgusting object (xv. iii). In this passage it seems to refer to the clinging pitch.

ll. 95, 96. *stralunava*, was rolling. Perhaps the idea is of the moon being deflected from her orbit (extra . . . luna). *Fatti in costà*, get thee aside: cf. l. 60. *Uccello*: see on xxxiv. 47.

l. 99. *io ne farò venire*, I will make some of them come.

ll. 100, 101. *stien . . . in cesso*, 'let them stand apart,' not 'stand quiet.' The expression is used, Vit. Giov. Batt. 227, in this sense: 'tutta l' altra gente fece istare di cesso.' *Ei*, the Tuscan and Lombard spirits.

l. 104. *sufolerò*, shall whistle. This is a longer form than 'soffiare,' from Lat. 'sufflare.' It is used of a snake's hiss in xxv. 137. He cunningly promises that 'for the one that he is' he will bring seven into the clutches of the demons.

l. 107. *Crollando*, shaking. Cp. 'Crollò la testa,' Purg. xxvii. 43. The word is used of a flickering flame in xxvi. 86. 'Dare un crollo,' to make a slight movement (xxv. 9).

ll. 109, 110. *lacciuoli a gran divizia*, artifices in great abundance. *Lacciuolo* is the diminutive of 'laccio,' a noose (Lat. *laqueus*). *Divizia* is the Lat. 'divitiae.' *Malizioso . . . troppo* is said ironically: 'too malicious indeed, when I am contriving greater torment for my fellows!'

l. 112. *non si tenne* probably means 'did not hold himself back,' i. e. 'came forward,' or 'could not restrain himself.' Cp. 'tenetevi stretti,' hold yourselves restrained, Par. xx. 133. Others say it means 'did not refuse Ciampolo's request.' In ix. 59 the expression is used with a different meaning, 'to trust to,' or 'to keep to.' *Rintoppo* is an obstacle (xxxiii. 95): perhaps from Germ. 'stopfen.' *Di rintoppo* means 'in opposition.'

l. 114. *di galoppo*, at a gallop: i. e. on foot. Cp. Purg. xxiv. 94. Alichino boasts that with his swift wings he can easily overtake Ciampolo, and therefore opposes his fellow-demon Cagnazzo, who is afraid of the peculator escaping.

l. 116. 'Let the ridge be left, and let the bank be a screen.' The Ald. and Crusc. editions read 'colle,' but a comparison with xxiii. 43, 'dal collo della ripa,' makes the present reading appear preferable. The 'collo' is the ridge of the circular dyke, and the demons were to descend the slope towards the next fosse until the bank hid them from the inmates of the pitch. For *lascisi* see xvii. 92. *Scudo* is Lat. 'scutum,' a shield.

ll. 119, 120. *dall'altra costa*, toward the other side; i. e. towards the sixth fosse and away from the pitch. For this force of 'da' see l. 46, note. *Crudo*, i. e. premature. Alichino was easily deceived and therefore the first to go. Others take it as 'reluctant.' Cagnazzo, who was so suspicious at first, is the first to be deceived.

l. 121. *colse*, chose or calculated; from 'cogliere.' The Latin 'colligere' is used in the same way.

l. 123. *proposto*, design. Some however take it to mean the same as in l. 94.

l. 124. *di colpo*, as 'di botto' below, 'at a stroke,' i. e. suddenly. Alichino was 'he who had been the cause of the mistake.'

l. 126. *Tu se' giunto*: see on i. 13.

l. 127. *poco i valse*, little it availed him. If 'i' be read, it is the dative. Cp. l. 73. There are other passages where such a form is used (x. 113, ii. 17, etc.). *Al sospetto* . . . , wings could not outspeed terror. Cp. 'che tutti gli altri avanza,' Par. xiii. 24.

l. 129. *drizzò suso il petto*. He 'wheeled upwards again like an angry falcon,' when he reached the surface of the pitch. (Cl.)

l. 132. *crucciato e rotto*, angry and outwearied, or defeated. (Cl.) Cp. v. 55.

l. 134. *dietro gli tenne*, followed after Alichino. Cp. 'io gli tenni dietro,' i. 136. *Invaghito*, desirous. Cp. 'vago,' viii. 52. *Zuffa* means 'a quarrel': perhaps from Germ. 'schopf' or 'zopf,' because those who quarrel seize each other by the head ('si accapigliano,' B.).

l. 128. *ghermito*, clutched. See xxi. 36.

l. 139. *fu bene sparvier grifagno*, was indeed a ravenous sparrowhawk to claw him well. *Grifagno*, from Germ. 'greifen' is used (as 'ghermire') of predatory animals, especially birds. It here is probably more than a general epithet, and denotes some species of falcon that was unusually fierce; or a full-fledged bird, not an 'eyas.' Cp. iv. 123 where the word is used to describe Caesar's eyes: 'gli occhi grifagni.'

l. 142. *sghermidor* (dis and ghermire), unclutcher. The heat suddenly made them unclutch each other. Although the meaning is perfectly clear, the Cruscan edition reads 'schermitor,' which seems to have but little sense. Longfellow translates it 'intercessor,' Cary 'umpire.'

l. 143. *di levarsi era niente*, there was no rising for them. See on ix 57.

l. 144. *Avieno*, for 'avevano'

l. 146. *dall' altra costa*: see on l. 46. I do not understand why some (L., Cl.) translate this 'to the other side,' because it is evident from l. 119 that the demons were now on the farther side of the dyke, and the more natural translation would seem to be 'from the other side.' The word may, however, have either meaning. If it is translated 'to the other side,' we must explain that four of the demons were sent over to the other bank of the fosse, while four were kept on the inner marge, in order that they might reach out with their hooks and pull their two companions ashore. In this case 'di qua, di là,' in the next line would be 'on each bank of the fosse.' But as the demons were 'flying,' it seems more likely that they hovered over the pitch.

l. 149. *impaniati*, belimed; from 'pane' or 'pania': see on xxi. 123.

l. 150. *dentro dalla crosta*, within the crust. The word is used of the frozen surface of Cocytus (xxxiii. 109, xxxiv. 75), and some commentators explain the word here as 'la superficie del lago di pece.' This is far more satisfactory than 'the crust of pitch that was clinging to them' (Carlyle).

l. 151. *impacciati*, embroiled. 'Impaccio' is a hindrance or obstacle. The word may (?) be connected with Lat. 'impedire.' (B.) Thus this wonderful scene closes, and the poets depart, leaving the Malebranche, as Carlyle says, in fitting disorder.

CANTOS XXIII-XXX.

ARGUMENT.

Leaving the Malebranche in the midst of that scene of confusion, the poets without escort silently continue their quest of the unbroken bridge. But Dante's suspicions were not unfounded, and soon he sees the demons pursuing with extended wings, so swiftly that scarcely had Virgil time to seize him in his arms and glide down the precipitous descent into the sixth chasm. Here they find the Hypocrites, clothed in gilded cloaks of lead, and walking around the circle in slow and painful procession. Caiaphas, the arch-heretic, is nailed cross-wise on the ground, so that all they who pass by trample on him. From Friar

Catalano they learn that all the bridges over this chasm are broken (xxi. 107), and it is with great difficulty that they scale the rocky ascent formed by the ruin of the bridge, and reach the seventh chasm, which is filled with terrible serpents. The Thieves and Sacrilegious here suffer strange torments, for at the bite of a serpent they dissolve in ashes, and immediately resume their human shape, or undergo wondrous transformations, the man becoming reptile and the reptile assuming the form of its victim. Among these are seen the bestial Vanni Fucci who robbed the sacristy of San Jacopo in Pistoia, and others, of whom five are especially mentioned as belonging to noble Florentine families. Here (canto xxvi. 1) the poet takes occasion to address ironically his native city: 'Rejoice, Florence, for thou art so mighty that over sea and land thou beatest thy wings, and through Hell thy name is spread abroad.' Nor is it without reason, that while musing on the fate of Florence he reaches the eighth chasm, in which are the Evil Counsellors. They are each enveloped in a single flame—all except Ulysses and Diomed, who 'run together in punishment, as once in wrath,' and who have a divided crest of fire, 'as if it rose from the pyre where Eteocles was placed with his 'brother.' (See Lucan, i. 550.) Ulysses relates the story of his death, how he passed the pillars of Hercules and sailed westward till he was wrecked on the isle of the mountain of Purgatory. After a long conversation with another flame-wrapped sinner, Guido of Montefeltro, who inquires eagerly about the state of Romagna, the poets pass to the ninth chasm (xxviii). Here are the Schismatics and Scandalmongers, horribly mutilated, split asunder from chin downwards. In such plight is Mahomet, and before him Ali goes weeping with face cleft from chin to forelock. Curio too, Caesar's evil counsellor, is there, speechless, with split tongue; and Mosca, whose murderous advice first introduced the accursed Feud into Florence, holds up in the dark air the bloody stumps of his arms. Then comes a scene that needs the poet's own description. 'Certainly I saw, and still seem to see, a trunk going without a head, as the others of that dismal herd were going. (That is, as if it had its head on its shoulders.) And it was holding by the hair the severed head, swinging in his hand like a lantern: and that looked at us and said "Oh me!"' (Carlyle's transl.) This is the great troubadour, warrior, and statesman, Bertrand de Born, who incited young Prince Henry of England against his father Henry II. Dante still lingers gazing down into the chasm, though Virgil is eager to proceed, for among the tormented he would fain recognise a kinsman whom he feels certain must be there, Geri del Bello by name. But his guide tells him how he had seen Geri at the foot of the bridge pointing and vehemently threatening with his finger, and then disappearing in the crowd. So they pass on to the tenth and last chasm of Malebolge, in

which lie the Falsifiers of every kind, Alchemists, Forgers, and all who have used deceit in word or deed. And here 'such grief there was as if the diseases of the hospitals of Valdichiana, between July and September, and of Maremma and Sardinia, were all together in one ditch; and such stench issued thence as is wont to issue from putrid limbs.' It is useless to describe the many loathsome objects that were seen. One it is impossible to omit on account of the wonderful *contrast* that is introduced. Adam of Brescia is seen distorted by dropsy, so that he was in shape like a lyre, with lips stretched apart in agony of thirst, as a hectic man who curls one lip towards the chin and the other upwards. He speaks:

'E ora, lasso! un gocciol d'acqua bramo.
 Li ruscelletti, che de' verdi colli
 Del Casentin discendon giuso in Arno,
 Facendo i lor canali e freddi e molli,
 Sempre mi stanno innanzi, e non indarno;
 Chè l' imagine lor via più m' asciuga
 Che il male, ond' io nel volto mi discarno.'
 (xxx. 63-69.)

CANTO XXXI.

ARGUMENT.

The poets now cross the last bridge, and find themselves on the brink of another huge precipice, like that which separated the second and third infernal regions (canto xvii). The air becomes still more thick and dark. A horn is sounded, louder than any thunder. Enormous shapes of giants are seen dimly looming and towering in the darkness. Antaeus takes the poets in his huge hand and sets them safely in the frozen circle, the lowest pit of Hell.

ll. 1-3. 'One same tongue first wounded me . . . and then offered me the medicine.' He refers to the rebuke which Virgil had given him for listening too intently to the vile abuse which Adam of Brescia and Sinon were showering upon each other (xxx. 106 foll.) But Dante's silent grief and shame had brought him instant forgiveness.

l. 5. The rust of Achilles' spear, which Cheiron the centaur gave

to Peleus (suo padre), healed the wound of Telephus, which had been inflicted by the hero. See Hor. Epod. 17. 8; Ovid, Rem. Am. 47, Trist. i. 99; Plin. Nat. Hist. xxv. 5; and Propertius, ii. 1. 63,

‘Mysus et Haemonia juvenis qua cuspidē volnus
Senserat, hac ipsa cuspidē sensit opem.’

Chaucer mentions it in his Squieres Tale :

‘And of Achilles for his queinte spere,
For he coude with it bothe hele and drere.’

And Shakespeare, Henry VI (v. i.) :

‘Whose smile and frown, like to Achilles’ spear,
Is able with the change to kill and cure.’

l. 6. **buona mancia**, gracious boon. **Mancia** is probably connected with Lat. ‘manus,’ and means ‘drink-money,’ or a surplus fee : ‘Trinkgeld’ or ‘buona mano.’ Cp. Par. v. 66, where it is used of Jephthah’s ‘offering.’

l. 7. The **vallone** is the last bolgia, which they had just left.

l. 11. Cp. xxiv. 70, ‘ma gli occhi vivi Non potean ire al fondo per l’oscuro’; and see xvii. 60, note.

l. 12. **sonare un alto corno Tanto che**, a horn sound so loud that . . . It is wrong to translate **alto** by ‘high,’ i.e. ‘aloft.’ For **foco** see on i. 63, iii. 27. Translate ‘faint.’

l. 14. ‘Which against itself directed my eyes all to one place, as they followed the path it came.’ **Sè** is the reflective pronoun, but **sua** is not here the reflective possessive. **Seguitando** agrees with **occhi**. The passage seems obscure; and it is rather too intricately expressed. But the idea that it contains is such a one as Dante delights in; and it hardly deserves Andreoli’s stricture, ‘Non è delle felici espressioni di Dante.’ The meaning is well given by Fraticelli : ‘Il qual suono rivolse totalmente gli occhi miei al luogo donde veniva, seguitandolo in direzione opposta; cioè, di contro alla parte dalla quale usciva.’

l. 17. **Gesta** is now only used in the plural. Cp. Lat. ‘res gestae,’ exploits. This ‘sacred emprise’ was the war against the Saracens of Spain. Others take it to mean ‘army,’ and quote Ariosto : ‘Mostra Carlo sprezzar con la sua gesta.’ The ‘grievous rout’ was that of Roncesvalles,

‘When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
By Fontarabia.’ (Par. Lost, i. 586.)

Orlando’s horn is often mentioned by the old romances. He is the hero of the Morgante Maggiore, the Orlando Innamorato, and the Orlando Furioso. Archbishop Turpin (Vita Caroli Magni, c. xxiii.) relates that on this occasion Orlando ‘blew with such vehemence that he burst the veins and nerves of his neck,’ and that ‘the sound reached the king’s ears, who lay encamped in a valley eight miles distant from

Ronceval.' But Charles was persuaded by the traitor Ganellone (xxxii. 122) that he need not hasten to the rescue, for that Orlando was prone to sound his horn for very light reasons. Cp. Marmion vi. 33.

l. 19. 'Little time held I my head turned thitherward when . . . ' Some read 'alta' for 'volta.' Cp. i. 47, 'Con la testa alta.'

l. 21. *terra*, probably 'city.' See on v. 97.

l. 22. 'Because thou traversest (i. e. piercest through) the gloom at too great a distance.' *Trascorri* is used, as 'andava' above, of the sight reaching forward through the darkness. See on x. 100, and cp. l. 37.

l. 24. *maginare*, an old form for 'immaginare.' *Aborrare* is the Latin 'aberrare.' It is used also in xxv. 144. 'se fior la penna (or lingua) aborra,' if my pen wanders at all. In the latter passage some commentators have tried to confuse it with 'aborrire' (Lat. *abhorrere*), which is used in Par. xxvi. 73.

l. 27. *te stesso pungi*, spur thyself on. *Caramente*: he wishes to assure Dante that he is forgiven.

l. 31. Cary says: 'The giants round the pit, it is remarked by Warton, are in the vein of Arabian fabling.' Possibly; but Virgil evidently gave the idea to Dante:—

'Hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania proles,

Fulmine dejecti fundo volvuntur in imo.' (Aen. vi. 580).

The *pozzo* is probably taken from Rev. ix. 2. 'Et aperuit puteum abyssi.' (Cl.) Cp. xxxii. 16.

l. 34. *dissipa*. Notice that the accent is paroxytone. It would naturally lie on the first syllable. See p. lxix.

l. 35. *raffigura*, reshapes. Thence the common meaning 'to recognise' (Par. iii. 63).

l. 36. *che l'aere stipa*, which makes thick the air. The Latin 'stipare' is 'to stuff or pack close.' Cp. vii. 19, 'chi stipa . . . traviaglie?' who (if not God) heaps together, or renders so intense, the torments?

l. 37. *forando*, piercing; as above l. 22. An absolute construction. 'Intendi lo sguardo.' (Fr.)

l. 39. *Fuggiami*. The Cruscan edition reads 'fuggemi,' which may be contracted from 'fuggéami,' a form of 'fuggiami.' Some take it as a present, and read 'giungemi' (or 'crescemi'), which however may be contracted from 'guingeami.' Translate—'Error fled from me, and fear approached.'

l. 40. *Cerchia* seems to be used by Dante in a different sense from 'cerchio.' It is 'a circular enclosure, material and real, as in xviii. 3, 72, xxiii. 131, where it signifies the wall of rock that encircles Malebolge: or the walls and rampart of a fortress or city, as here and in Par. xv. 97. Once only is it used (Purg. xxii. 33) for a "circle" of Pur-

gatory. The circles of the Inferno are always called "cerchi." (Blanc.)

l. 41. *Montereggione*, a castle near Siena, the ruins of which are still sufficiently preserved to confirm the description given by the Anonimo: 'Castello Sanese, che nel circuito delle sue mura ha quasi ad ogni 50 braccia una torre.'

l. 43. *Torreggivan* . . . , turreted the marge with half their bodies. The giants are standing on the frozen lake, but their height is so much greater than that of the precipitous sides of the 'pozzo' that they, as it were, form towers along its brink. Dante shows great skill in thus disposing such vast creatures in the limited space of his Inferno.

l. 48. *per le coste giù*, down along his sides, i. e. hanging down his sides.

l. 51. 'To take away such ministers from war.' That is, nature acted wisely when she put an end to such monsters, who, not being un-reasoning brutes but human 'animals' (cp. v. 88), might have devastated the earth. The idea is perhaps from Aristotle, *Polit.* Bk. i.

ll. 53, 54. 'He who regardeth subtly, holds her more just and discerning on that account.' Dante explains the reason in the following lines.

l. 55. *argomento* is often used for 'a reason' (xxvii. 106, etc.), and also for the faculty of reason, 'discourse of reason,' as here, and *Par.* xv. 79, 'voglia ed argomento ne' mortali.'

l. 57. 'Mankind can make no defence against it.' For *la gente*, meaning 'the human race,' cp. 'conviene Prender sua vita ed avvanzar la gente' (xi. 108), 'Fa' che di noi alla gente favelle' (xvi. 85).

l. 59. This is the colossal pine-cone, eleven feet in height, which now stands in the Giardino della Pigna at the Vatican. It was brought from the mole of Hadrian (some say from the Pantheon), on the summit of which it originally stood. There was a drinking-fountain, called 'il Paradiso,' in front of the old Basilica of St. Peter, made by Pope Damasus about A.D. 370 for the convenience of pilgrims. About a century later Pope Simmacus placed a roof of metal over this fountain and set the pine-cone on its summit, whence, subsequently to Dante's times, it was removed by Julius II.

l. 60. 'And in proportion to it were the other bones'; i. e. the rest of his body. *Osso* forms a heteroclite plural: see viii. 43.

l. 61. *perizoma*, an apron, is a Greek word. Dante may have taken it from the Vulgate, 'Consuerunt folia ficus, et fecerunt sibi perizomata,' Gen. iii. 7. The notion is that the lower part of his body is hidden by being within the pit.

l. 64. 'Three Friezelanders would have vainly boasted to reach to his hair.' For *vanto* see on iii. 42. *Averian* or 'avrian' (xxxii. 30) for 'avrebbero.'

l. 66. *giù* or '*giuso*' is probably the medieval '*jusum*,' for the Latin '*deorsum*.' Faurel however gives it in a list of words from the Gallo-Celtic, and derives it from '*is*,' which means 'down' (ii. p. 459). *Affibiarsi*, to buckle, from the Latin '*fibula*.' The neck is the part meant. The '*palm*' varies in length from six to eight fingers.

l. 67. This verse, like another in vii. 1, '*Pape Satan, pape Satan, aleppe*,' has exercised the ingenuity of the commentators, some of whom have given it up in despair as a meaningless jargon—'*ch'a nullo è noto*'—'*shadowy words from his old Babel*.' Perhaps this is the wisest explanation. Others have searched in Hebrew and Arabic, and give us the following translation: '*Exult my splendour in the abyss, as it shone on earth*.' Fraticelli inclines to the opinion that each word is taken from a different language, and translates, '*Pardiez! cur ego hier? va t' en—t' ascondi*.'

l. 69. *salmi*, i. e. utterances, as in vii. 125; '*quest' inno sì gorgolian nella strozza*,' this hymn they gurgie in their throat.

l. 70. *Anima sciocca*, foolish soul. Cp. vii. 70, '*O creature sciocche*'; and xx. 27, '*Ancor se' tu degli altri sciocchi?*' art thou too like the other foolish ones? Notice *vêr lui*, towards him; as if he were some huge tower or mountain.

l. 71. *Tienti col corno*, keep to thy horn: see on xxii. 112. *Disfogare*, or '*sfogare*,' to evaporate or exhale. '*Foga*,' impetuosity, is perhaps from '*focus*,' and not from '*fuga*.' The meaning here is '*give vent to your bewildered fury*.'

l. 73. *soga*, bauldrick or belt. The word is found also in Spanish.

l. 75. *lui*, the horn. *Dogare*, to bar or gird, is from '*doga*' (Germ. *Daube*?) which means the stave of a cask, and is also used for bars or stripes of colour; as '*Doghe bianche e bigie*.' (Villani, vii. 109, quoted by Cl.)

l. 76. *Egli stesso s'accusa*, that is, his speech betrays him to be Nimrod, the founder of Babel.

l. 77. *coto*, device, is contracted from Latin '*cogitatio*,' or more probably a short form of '*cotato*' (*cogitamento*). In Provençal we find '*cut*.' Par. iii. 26, '*il tuo pueril coto*.' Cp. '*conto*,' iii. 76.

l. 81. *ad altrui*: it is unusual to find *altrui* with a preposition: cp. viii. 30, xii. 48.

l. 83. *al trar d'un balestro*, at the distance of a crossbow-shot. *Balestro*: see on xii. 98, xxii. 77.

l. 84. *Maggio*, an old form for '*maggiore*.' A street in Florence is still called *Via Maggio*.

l. 85. '*Whoever the master might be to bind him*'; i. e. who could have been strong enough to bind him.

l. 86. *Succinto*: '*sotto cinto, cioè cinto sotto la catena*.' (And.)

l. 89. 'So that over the uncovered, visible, portion of his body it wound itself to the fifth coil.' *Scoperto* means that part not hidden in the pit.

l. 91. *sperto*, or '*esperto*,' is the Latin '*expertus*.' Translate 'to make trial of.'

l. 92. In *Purg.* vi. 118 this expression is used curiously: '*O sommo Giove, Che fosti in terra per noi crocifisso.*'

l. 93. *merto*, by syncope for '*merito*,' as iv. 49, '*per suo merto.*' The Ephialtes, who fought with the Giants against Jove, was blinded by Apollo and Heracles. There was another monster of the name who was brother to Otus, and the son of Poseidon and Iphimedeia the wife of Aloeus. These two brothers are described by Homer (*Od.* xi. 307). At nine years old they were nine cubits in breadth, and in height nine fathoms. They piled Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa, and would have expelled Zeus from heaven, had not Apollo destroyed them before they had attained their full size. Virgil, in *Georg.* i. 282, seems to consider these '*Aloidae*' as Titans, but in *Aen.* vi. 582 (which passage Dante evidently had in mind) he mentions them as distinct:

'Hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi
Corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum
Aggressi, superisque Jovem detrudere regnis.'

The mention of the Giants in l. 95 is therefore not quite correct.

l. 98. Briareus, according to Hesiod, was one of the three Uranidae, sons of Heaven and Earth, who took part with Zeus against the Titans, and helped to conquer them by hurling rocks with their three hundred hands. He was called Aegaeon by mortals, but by the gods Briareus (*Hom.* Il. i. 403). Virgil makes him fight *against* Jove (*Aen.* x. 565):

'Aegaeon qualis, centum cui brachia dicunt
Centenasque manus, quinquaginta orbibus ignem
Pectoribusque arsisse.'

It was probably this description that made Dante so anxious to behold him.

l. 100. Antaeus, son of Poseidon and Gaia (Sea and Earth), was a Libyan giant. He was invincible so long as he remained in contact with the earth, but Hercules slew him by lifting him off the ground and crushing him. He is unbound because he did not war against the gods. See on l. 120.

l. 102. 'Who will place us in the bottom of all guilt'; i.e. in the lowest circle of Hell. '*Reo per reato trovasi in Dante altre volte.*' (Fr.) It does not occur again as a noun in the poem. See on ix. 111.

ll. 106, 107. 'Never was earthquake so mighty, so that it shook a tower as violently as...' This may be turned 'never did a mighty

earthquake shake . . . ' *Scotere*, or 'scuotere,' from Latin 'ex-cutio.' *Fu presto*, was quick to shake himself; i. e. suddenly shook himself. Cp. xxi. 104.

l. 110. 'And there was need of nought else but fear'; i. e. the fear itself would have killed me. Cp. i. 7. *Dotta* is connected with 'dubitare' cp. Fr. 'douter.' Some take it to mean a 'movement,' and others a 'moment'; but the word is commonly used for 'fear,' and this gives the best sense. *Visto* (l. 111) is a form of the past participle of 'vedere': cp. xxxii. 40. For *allotta* see on v. 53.

l. 113. *ben cinqu' alle*, full five ells. Cp. l. 62, 'ben tanto.' 'Un' alla inglese risponde a due braccia fiorentine: il braccio è tre palmi.' (Andr.) Thus *Antaeus* is of the same height as *Nimrod*, l. 65. The *grotta* (Lat. 'crypta') is of course the pit.

l. 115. *fortunata*; in xxviii. 8, 'la fortunata terra di Puglia' evidently means, 'the fateful land of Apulia,' that is, the scene of many battles. Here it may have a similar meaning. This 'fateful valley' is the vale of the river *Bagradas*, on which lay *Naragra*, the actual scene of the great battle, which derived its name from the neighbouring city of *Zama*, and in which *Scipio* utterly defeated the Carthaginians under *Hannibal* in B.C. 202. *Reda* by *aphaeresis* for 'ereda,' the Latin 'haeres' (-edis). Cp. 'resia' and 'eresia,' 'tondo' for 'rotondo.'

l. 118. 'Thou didst take of old a thousand lions for thy prey.' It was in the valley of the *Bagradas*, according to *Lucan* (iv. 588), whom *Dante* is here following, that *Antaeus* had his cave, and banqueted on lions: 'epulas habuisse leones.' *Alta guerra* means the 'great and memorable war.'

l. 120. *ancor par ch' e' si creda*, it seems yet credible. For 'ei' see on x. 97. *Dante* is still following *Lucan*: 'Caeoque pepercit Quod non Phlegraeis Antaeum sustulit arvis' (iv. 596). The 'sons of the earth' are of course the 'Terrigenae,' or giants.

l. 122. 'Place us below, and let not disdain arise in thee thereat.' *Schifo* is perhaps connected with Germ. 'scheu.' The adjective 'schivo' means 'shy' or 'eager to shun'; as xii. 3, 'ch' ogni vista ne sarebbe schiva,' that every eye would gladly shun. Cp. xxvi. 74, and *Purg.* ii. 72. *Schifo* is also used as an adjective: 'queste del giel, quelle del Sole schife.' 'Some (cranes) eager to avoid the frost, others the sun.' (*Purg.* xxvi. 45.)

l. 123. 'Where the cold locks up *Cocytus*'; i. e. freezes and congeals. In canto xiv. *Virgil* explains how all the streams in the upper part of Hell, *Acheron*, *Styx*, and *Phlegethon*, are formed by the tears of a great image, and how 'they go down to where they can no farther descend. They form *Cocytus*,' he adds, 'and what a pool that is thou shalt see.'

l. 124. Tityus, an Euboean giant, is described by Homer (Od. xi. 576) and Virgil (Aen. vi. 595) as outstretched on the plain of Tartarus, covering with his vast bulk nine acres, and preyed upon by vultures. Cp. Milton's description of Satan. Typhon, according to Hesiod, was the personification of the hurricane, the father of Cerberus, the Hydra, the Chimaera, and the Sphinx. Typhoeus is often confounded with Typhon by later writers. He was a monster with a hundred heads, and was the father of Typhon, and the stormy winds, and the Harpies. **Non ci far ire**, do not make us go; sc. by refusing our request.

l. 125. 'This one can give of what is longed for here'; i. e. fame on earth (l. 127). This argument is used not unfrequently, as in xxxii. 92, 138, and xxix. 103, where Dante, when conjuring some shades to impart their names, says 'So may your memory not steal away from human minds, but may it live under many suns.'

l. 126. **grifo** (greifen?) is a snout of a pig: here used for 'lip.' Cp. 'muso,' used of men, xviii. 104, xxii. 106; and 'ceffo,' xxxiv. 65.

l. 129. Dante was only in the midway of life (i. 1), and could reasonably expect to enjoy many more years 'if Grace did not call him to herself before the time.' He died in 1321 at the age of fifty-six.

l. 132. **Onde**; i. e. 'dalle quale.' **Stretta**, distress. See on l. 100. **Sentio** for 'sentì': cp. x. 28.

l. 134. **Fátti'n qua**, come hither. 'Farsi' with prepositions is often thus used: as viii. 32, xxi. 92, xxii. 96.

l. 135. 'So that I and he were one bundle.'

l. 137. **il chinato**, the leaning side.

l. 138. **Ch'ella in contrario penda**; i. e. hangs over in a direction opposite to the movement of the cloud. This effect may be noticed even under an upright building. There are two leaning towers at Bologna, the Asinelli, which is now the higher but the more upright, and the Garisenda (so called from the Garisendi family), which, about 1355, was curtailed of the greater part of its height by Giovanni Visconti da Oleggio. It is now commonly called the 'Torre mozza' or 'mutilated tower.' Its declination is 9 feet in an altitude of 130 feet.

l. 139. **Badare**, French 'bayer' or 'béer,' English 'bay,' (in the phrase 'at bay') is probably formed by onomatopoeia, and means 'to gape'; as Lat. 'inhiare,' to covet, or gaze agape at. **Stare a bada** means 'to stand a gape with astonishment,' or sometimes to 'stand trifling.' 'Tenere a bada' is to 'hold at bay.'

l. 140. **e fu tal ora che**, and it was such a moment that: i. e. and then it was that. Some read 'talora,' and translate 'I were fain at times to have passed another way.' (Cary, and B.)

l. 142. **che divora**: cp. xviii. 99, 'della prima valle Sapere, e di

color che in sè assanna' (seizes with its teeth). Cp. also Ps. lxi. 15. We shall find Judas in the mouth of Satan xxxiv. 62.

l. 145. This must be understood of the moveable masts, such as were used by the ancients, which were let down into the 'mast-hold' or erected, as occasion required. Cp. the sudden disappearance of Geryon in xvii. 134.

CANTO XXXII.

ARGUMENT.

Dante laments that language fails him to describe what he now beheld. He invokes the Muses to aid him.

The ninth and last circle is a vast frozen sea, sloping down from all sides toward the central point of the earth, the very bottom of Hell, where Lucifer is fixed in eternal ice. This sea is divided into four concentric rings, Caïna, Antenora, Ptolemæa, and Giudecca, in which are the traitors, 'immoveable, infixed, and frozen round.' In Caïna are punished those who have dealt treacherously with their kindred, and in Antenora traitors against their native land. Among these the poet recognises many of his own fellow-citizens, both Guelph and Ghibelin, one of whom, Bocca degli Abati, refuses to tell his name, and is violently treated by Dante. Before leaving the Antenora they find two sinners frozen closely together in one hole, one of whom is gnawing the head of the other. Dante addresses him, asking the reason of his fell repast.

l. 1. *Chiocciare* and *chioccia*, used of a clucking hen (Germ. Glucke) are formed by onomatopoeia. The adjective *chioccio* is used in vii. 2 of the voice of Plutus, 'clucking.' Here it seems to mean 'harsh' or 'stridulous.' It is not that the vulgar tongue is too weak and smooth a language, only suited, as once was thought, for love songs and romance; it is that all language fails to describe the 'bottom of the universe.' See xxxiv. 24, and i. 6; cp. Virgil's

'Non, mihi si linguae centum sint, oraue centum,
Ferreæ vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas,
Omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.'

(Aen. vi. 625.)

In xxviii. 1 foll. Dante says that even 'con parole sciolte,' with words

set free from rhyme and metre, he could not adequately describe these scenes, no not by 'oft relating them.'

l. 2. *buco* and *buca* (l. 125, xxxiv. 131) seem connected with 'bocca' (cp. Provenc. 'buc,' a hole) and mean a hole or aperture. For the double form see on xxii. 77. Cp. 'trista conca,' ix. 16.

l. 3. 'Upon which thrust all the other rocks' (L.); i. e. all the higher cliffs and circles are supported. *Pontare*, from 'punta,' is to touch with a point, and thence to lean upon, or, in architectural language 'thrust.' This being the centre of the earth, 'all weight converges' towards it (l. 74). *Rocce* or 'roccie,' as 'bolge,' 'lance,' 'pane' (xxi. 123).

l. 4. 'I would press out the juice of my conception more fully': express myself more fully.

l. 5. *Abbo* for 'ho'—a form nearly approaching the Lat. 'habeo,' used also in ancient prose writers.

l. 7. *da pigliare a gabbo*, to undertake in jest.

l. 9. *chiami*: notice the mood. Dante condemns, in his treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (bk. ii), the use of 'mamma' and 'babbo.' He says 'thou shalt take care that only the most noble words remain in thy sieve. In which number thou canst in no wise place those which are puerile by reason of their simplicity, as "mamma" and "babbo," "mate" and "pate."' But he is speaking of Canzoni. See on l. 127.

l. 11. Amphiön, son of Zeus and Antiope, possessed a lyre which, as that of Orpheus, had power to move with its music the trees and stones. Wishing to fortify Thebes he played, and the rocks descended from Cithaeron and built themselves into walls. Thus it was that the Muses 'helped him to enclose Thebes.' Dante has already invoked the Muses in Canto ii. 7, when commencing the descent.

l. 14. Cp. iii. 12, and i. 4, note.

l. 15. *Me'* for 'meglio' (i. 112). *Qui*: 'in questo mondo.' *Zeba*, a goat; cp. the German 'Zibbe,' a vulgarism for 'Ziege.'

l. 21. *fratei* for 'fratelli,' as 'capei' for 'capelli,' 'cavai' for 'cavalli,' 'figliuoi' for 'figliuoli' (xxxiii. 48). The word probably means merely fellow-creatures, or fellow-sufferers. 'Così dice quella anima a Dante, perchè, non conoscendolo per tuttora vivo, lo crede un dannato alla stessa pena, or ora li giunta.' (Fr.) Some take it to mean actually 'brothers' (l. 57).

l. 26. *Di verno*: 'nell'inverno.' *Danoia*, an old form for 'Danubio,' and *Austericch* (or *Ostericch*) for 'Austria.' Andreoli however remarks, 'Voci allora comuni.'

l. 27. *Tanai* is the Lat. 'Tanais' now the Don. Milton mentions the torment of souls in ice (*Par. Lost* ii. 601); cp. Shaksp. Measure for Measure, iii. 1, Richard III, i. 4. Notice that Dante makes the torture

of cold the worst in Hell : a conclusion arrived at by other inhabitants of hot countries, such as the West Indian negroes.

l. 28. **Tabernicch** is probably *Frusta Gora*, a mountain near *Tovarnich* in *Sclavonia* : or *Javornick* (the 'mountain of maples') in *Carniola*.

l. 29. **Pietrapana** (or '*Pietra apuana*') is one of the peaks of the *Apennines* in the country of *Garfagnana*, not far from *Lucca*.

l. 30. 'It would not even at the edge have given a creak.' **Cricchi** is read by some, and in the other lines '*Austericchi*' and '*Tabernicchi*,' by which the effect of the '*verso tronco*' is spoilt. These are evidently some of the '*rime aspre e chioce*' for which the poet was longing.

ll. 32, 33. 'What time the peasant girl oft dreams of gleanings.' **Spigolare**, from Latin '*spiculum*' or '*spica*,' an ear of corn. As he introduced in *Canto xxx.* the description of rivulets and verdant hills in contrast to that fearful scene of thirst, so here, amid the icy desolation, he gives a picture of summer—perfect in seven words.

l. 34. 'Up to where shame, or blushing, appears': that is, up to their necks.

l. 36. 'Setting their teeth to the note of a stork,' i. e. gnashing their teeth with a rattling noise, such as a stork makes with its bill.

l. 39. **testimonianza si procaccia**, procures witness for itself. The cold is testified by their chattering teeth, and their grief by their tears. With '*procacciare*' cp. French '*pourchasser*,' and English '*purchase*.'

l. 41. **si stretti**, so closely pressed against each other.

l. 44. 'And they bent their necks': bent back their necks in raising their faces.

l. 45. 'Which before were moist inwardly alone.' Their eyes were full of tears, and as they raise their heads the drops 'gush through the lids.'

l. 47. **Labbra** is used for '*palpebre*.' It cannot mean '*rigarono di lagrime i loro volti*' (*Andr.*); for, as *Fratricelli* observes, the tears were at once frozen, and had not time to reach their lips.

ll. 49-51. **spranga**, a cramp: cp. German '*Spange*.' For **becchi** see on xvii. 72. For **cozzaro** see on ix. 97.

l. 52. Cp. '*populataque tempora raptis Auribus*' (*Aen.* vi. 496).

l. 53. 'With his face still down.' The form **giue** is used again in *Purg.* viii. 25, '*scender giue*.' '*Sue*' is also used for '*su*' (*Purg.* iv. 47. viii. 23, xvi. 30). See on x. 28.

l. 54. 'Why dost thou so mirror thyself in us': i. e. gaze on our glazed faces.

l. 56. The *Bisenzio* is a small stream that flows past *Prato*, and falls into the *Arno* a few miles below *Florence*. *Alberto degli Alberti* had

possessions in this valley of Falterona, and after his death his two sons, Alessandro and Napoleone, quarrelled, and caused each other's death by treachery.

l. 58. **Caïna**, the outer ring of the ninth circle, so called from the first murderer: cp. v. 107.

l. 60. **gelatina**, gelatine. The jest comes from the frozen sinner with bitter irony.

ll. 61-62. **Non quegli**, sc. 'troverai più degno.' This is Modred, or Modrec, son of King Arthur. He had been discovered in treachery, and was slain by his father, whose spear tore such a rent in his body that the sun shone through it. The story is told in the old Romance of Lancelot du Lac (see Carlyle ad loc.); and in the Italian version, called 'Illustre e famosa istoria di Lancillotto del Lago' (cp. v. 137). 'Dietro l'apertura della lancia passò per mezzo la piaga un raggio di sole' (lib. 5. cap. 162). While falling, Modred is said to have inflicted a mortal wound on his father. **Con esso un colpo**, with one and the same blow. Blanc says of **esso**, 'sometimes this pronoun seems to have no function except to give more precision to the image, and then it is always placed between the preposition and the noun, without being attracted into its gender.' See on viii. 113. For the rhyme **ombra . . . ombra**, see on iii. 93.

l. 63. **Focaccia de' Cancellieri**, of Pistoia, who in 1300 brutally revenged himself on his young cousin, and murdered his uncle, and thus gave rise to the feud between the Neri and Bianchi. See p. xxxii. **Ingombra**, obstructs: from medieval Latin 'combrus' for 'cumulus,' a heap.

l. 65. **Sassol Mascheroni** was a Florentine who, according to Landino, murdered his uncle, or, according to the Anonimo and others, was left as guardian to his nephew, and killed him for the sake of the inheritance. He was beheaded at Florence, after having been carried through the city 'nailed in a cask.' (Cl.) **Dèi**, by syncope for 'devi,' from 'dovere.'

l. 68. **Alberto Camicione de' Pazzi**, of Valdarno, treacherously murdered his kinsman Ubertino.

l. 69. 'And I await Carlino to excuse me'—to throw my treachery into the shade by his more heinous crimes. Carlino de' Pazzi is said to have betrayed into the hands of the Florentine Neri the castle of Piano di Trevigne in Valdarno, which was occupied and had been bravely held by the exiled Bianchi for twenty-nine days. By this treachery many of the exiles, and among them some of his own kindred, perished. This was in the summer of 1302.

l. 70. **Cagnazzi**: 'fatti paonazzi, quasi neri.' (Fr.) Many commentators take it thus: cp. 'livide,' l. 34. But it probably means

'dog-faced' (as in xxi. 119, xxii. 106). Cp. the expression 'latrando,' l. 105. Cary translates 'shaped into a doggish grin.' Ribrezzo, shuddering: see on xvii. 87.

l. 72. *de' gelati guazzi*, at frozen pools: not, as Carlyle, 'at those ice-fords of the Pit,' but 'degli stagni gelati di quassù, per la memoria di quel di laggiù.' (Andr.) See on i. 6. *Guazzo* is a form of 'guado,' the Latin, 'vadum.'

l. 74. See on l. 3. For *rezzo* see on xvii. 87.

l. 76. 'Whether it was will or destiny or chance I know not.' *Voler* cannot mean 'mia volontà' (as Andr. and others), but the will of God as opposed to blind destiny.

l. 79. *peste* for 'pesti' (xiii. 16): from Lat. 'pinsere' or 'pisere,' participle 'pistum,' whence the strong form 'pistare.'

l. 81. 'The vengeance for Montaperti'; that is, the punishment that I suffer for my treachery at Montaperti. This is Bocca degli Abati. See on x. 32.

l. 83. 'So that I may escape from a doubt concerning him.'

l. 88. *Or*: translate 'nay.' The Antenora is the second ring, and is so called from Antenor, the Trojan elder, who entertained the Achaean ambassadors, and was sent to treat with Agamemnon just before the fall of Troy. On this occasion he is said to have concerted a plan for delivering the city into the hands of the enemy.

l. 90. 'So that, wert thou alive, it would be too much.' Bocca (as Alberto, l. 21) fancies that Dante is a shade. He therefore wonders at the force of the blow which he had received, and concludes that, if the shade could strike so hard, the blow of the living man would be too much to bear.

l. 93. See on xxxi. 125. *Note* may be 'l'altre cose da me notate quaggiù' (Fr.), as in xx. 107, 'degno di nota'; or, more probably, it means 'rhymes' or 'verses,' as in xvi. 127, 'per le note Di questa comedia.'

l. 95. *lagna*, trouble, or molestation. 'Lagnarsi,' to grieve, is perhaps from the Latin 'laniare,' to lacerate.

l. 96. 'For thou understandest ill to flatter on this swamp.' He probably refers to the blow that Dante's foot had given him. But it may mean that traitors required no poet to immortalise their treachery. For *per* see on i. 2. *Lama*: 'oggi è l'uso commune in tutto il fiorentino di chiamare così luoghi bassi lungo i fiumi.' (Borghini, Andr.) In xx. 79 it is used of level ground in which a river forms a marsh: 'nella qual si distende e la impaluda.' In Purg. vii. 90 it means low land or plain. The word is Latin, and is used by Horace, where it is explained by Festus as 'aquae collectio.'

l. 97. *cuticagna*: 'e la parte concava e deretana del capo.' He

seizes him by the hair of the 'after-scalp.' The commentators remind us that this was the natural thing to do, as these sinners were 'colla faccia in giù' (l. 37).

l. 99. *qui su*, here on thy head.

l. 100. *dischiomare*, from Latin 'dis' and 'coma,' meaning to 'un-hair,' to pull out the hair. Cp. 'discarnare,' to 'unflesh' (xxx. 69), and 'dismagliarsi,' to 'dismail oneself'; i. e. to scratch off scurf (xxix. 85).

l. 101. *nè mostrerolti*: 'nè te lo mostrerò, alzando verso te la faccia.' (Fr.)

l. 102. *tomare* is 'to fall': used by Petrarch, 'O tomi giù nell' amorosa selva.' Cp. the French 'tomber,' and Champenois O. Fr. 'tumer,' Germ. 'taumeln.' It is probably the O. Norse 'tumba,' to tumble. Others derive it from 'tumba,' a heap. The form 'tombolare' is more common. (Diez.)

l. 103. *in mano avvolti*, twisted or coiled in my hand.

l. 104. *ciocca*, tuft. 'Ciocco,' as old French 'choque,' means a block or root. Cp. French 'choc,' English 'shock,' (of corn) and 'shockheaded,' Germ. 'Schock,' a heap.

l. 105. *Latrando lui*, he barking: an absolute construction. See on l. 70.

l. 107. *sonar con le mascelle*, to sound with the jaws, that is, to chatter with the teeth on account of the cold (l. 36).

l. 109. *favelle* for 'favelli': xiii. 16.

l. 113. 'If thou gettest out from hence.' (Cl.) *Eschi* from 'uscire.'

l. 115. He who betrayed Bocca's name was Buoso da Duera of Cremona. He was posted by the Ghibelins and King Manfred with a body of troops near Parma, but was bribed by Guy of Montfort, the general of the army of Charles of Anjou, to allow him a passage through Lombardy on his expedition against Naples (1265). The word *argento* is appropriately used for 'denaro,' as it is 'Frenchmen's money' (l'argent).

l. 117. *stanno freschi*: 'stanno nel ghiaccio.' The expression 'stare fresco' is probably derived from this passage. It means 'to be in a mess,' as we say.

l. 119. Don Tesauro Beccheria of Pavia, abbot of Vallombrosa, and legate of Pope Alexander IV, was (perhaps falsely) accused of treachery against the Guelph government, and was beheaded at Florence in 1258.

l. 120. *Gorgiera* is literally the 'neck-piece of a suit of armour: here it is for 'gola.'

l. 121. Gianni Soldanieri was a noble Florentine Ghibelin who in 1266, after the defeat and death of Manfred at Benevento, deserted his friends and headed the popular party.

l. 122. Ganellone or Gano was the traitor at Roncesvalles. See on xxxi. 17. Tebaldello de' Manfredi in 1282 betrayed Faenza, his native city, to the French under Giovanni de Apia.

l. 125. *buca*: see on l. 2.

l. 126. 'So that one was a hood to the other'; that is, was bending over and covering the other.

l. 127. *manducare* (a Latin word) or 'manucare,' to chew. In the Vulg. Eloq. i. xiii, Dante, condemning Tuscan provincialisms, says, 'loquuntur Florentini, et dicunt Manuchiamo introcque' (mangiamo frattanto). It is strange that he should have used both these words in his poem. Cp. l. 9.

l. 128. *il sopran*, the one above. *Sopran* and 'sovrán' are actually the same word, but 'when a moral signification is intended the editions give *sovrán*.' (B.)

l. 129. *nuca*, the nape: probably from Latin 'nux,' a nut; but cp. English 'neck,' and Dutch 'nocke.'

l. 130. Tydeus, king of Calydon, accompanied Adrastus in the expedition against Thebes. He was wounded by Melanippus, whom he slew. As he lay in the agonies of death he bade the head of his antagonist to be brought, and he ate the brain or some of the flesh. Athena, who had come to heal him of his wound, fled in dismay and left him to his fate. Some read 'sì,' and others 'si.' 'Rodarsi' is certainly used as a reciprocal (see on i. 62) in Purg. vi. 83: 'e l'un l'altro si rode': but not as an active-reflexive in any other passage in the poem. Cp. 'ti mangi,' l. 134.

l. 132. *faceva*. The verb 'fare' is often used to avoid the repetition of a preceding verb. Cp. v. 96, ix. 116. Translate—'than he did the skull and the other parts.' *Teschio* is from the Latin diminutive 'testula,' as 'fischio' from 'fistula.'

l. 133. *bestial*: 'che è proprio a bestia.' But see Juvenal's indignant protest that the beasts excel man in this point (Sat. xv. 159, sq.).

l. 135. *il perchè*, the reason. Cp. 'in forse,' and 'il sì e 'l no,' viii. 110, 111. *Convegno*: a word of the ancient Florentine dialect, for 'convenzione,' condition.

l. 138. *io te ne cangi*, I may repay thee for it. See on xxxi. 135. For the form *cangi* see on xvii. 92. 'Cangiare,' or 'cambiare' is probably the Low Latin 'cambiare' or 'cambire' (used in Apuleius), which may be connected with Greek κάμπτειν (κάμβειν), to turn. Some say from Teutonic 'chap' (chapmen): cp. Germ. 'kaufen.' (Eng. 'chaffer.')

l. 139. *Non si secca*, dries not up, as a stream. Cp. i. 80.

CANTO XXXIII.

ARGUMENT.

The story of Ugolino. The poets pass on to the Ptolemaea, the third ring. Here still more 'cruel souls' (l. 110) are buried in ice, with their heads so bent back that the tears collect and freeze in the hollows of their eyes. Friar Alberigo converses with Dante, telling how, though his spirit is tormented in Hell, his body still lives on earth.

l. 2. **forbendola**, wiping it. 'Forbire' is from the O. H. Germ. 'furban,' to polish: cp. French 'fourbir,' and our 'furbish.' In xv. 69, 'fa' che tu ti forbi,' it seems as if 'forbi' was the subjunctive from a form 'forbare,' which is not found. The following story of Ugolino has been translated into terza rima by Mr. Gladstone with his usual felicity of expression. (Translations, by Lord Lyttelton and Mr. Gladstone).

l. 3. **diretro**: see xxxii. 129. 'Which he had laid waste behind.'

l. 4. Evidently from Virgil's 'Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem' (Aen. ii. 3). Several expressions remind us of this passage in the Aeneid. See below.

l. 6. Cp. on i. 6, and 'Quonquam animus meminisse horret' (Aen. ii. 12).

ll. 7, 8. **esser den seme Che frutti infamia**, are to be seed which may bear fruit of infamy. **Den** for 'denno' ('deono' or 'debbono') from 'dovere.' Cp. xvi. 118, 'esser denno.'

l. 9. Cp. the passage v. 124-126, especially 'che piange e dice'; and 'quis talia fando Temperet a lacrimis' (Aen. ii. 6).

l. 10. **sie** for 'sii': cp. viii. 39.

l. 11. Cp. x. 25, where Farinata recognises Dante to be a Florentine by his speech.

l. 13. Ugolino de' Gherardeschi, Count of Donoratico, was of a noble Ghibelin family of Pisa; but being ambitious of power he joined the Guelph party. After the disastrous defeat of the Pisan navy by the Genoese in 1284, in which 15000 of their men were destroyed or taken captive, Ugolino hastened from the battle to Pisa and expelled the Ghibelins (Villani, vii. 92, 98). He remained for some years in supreme power as Podestà, but in 1288 he found a formidable rival in Nino di Gallura, his own grandson. (See on xxii. 81.) He therefore united

with Archbishop Ruggieri, the chief of the Ghibelins, and by such treachery compelled Nino to leave Pisa. But this infamous alliance could not last. Ugolino, among many crimes, had in a fit of passion killed his own nephew and the nephew of the Archbishop. (Sism. Hist. ii. 8.) On July 1, 1288, Ruggieri suddenly attacked the palace of the tyrant. Ugolino and his two sons and two grandsons were captured and imprisoned in the Torre de' Gualandi. After seven months it was decided that they should be starved to death. The rest of the story will be best told by Villani (vii. 128), whose account is thus given by Longfellow. 'The Pisans, who had imprisoned Count Ugolino and his two sons, and two grandsons, children of Count Guelfo, in a tower on the Piazza degli Anziani, ordered the door of the tower to be locked, and the keys to be thrown into the Arno, and forbade any food to be given to the prisoners, who in a few days died of hunger. And the five bodies, being taken out of the tower, were ignominiously buried: and from that day forth the tower was called the Tower of Famine, and shall be for evermore.' The ruins of this tower are still to be seen in the Piazza de' Cavalieri. Buti, in his Comento, says, 'After eight days they were removed from prison and carried wrapped in matting to the church of the Minor Friars at San Francesco, and buried in the monument which is on the side of the steps leading into the church near the gate of the cloister, with irons on their legs: which irons I myself saw taken out of the monument.'

A great deal, and much of a confusing and contradictory nature, has been written on the subject. If further details are desired, the following references may be consulted: Villani, vii. 92-128; Muratori, xv. p. 979; Sismondi, Hist. ii. viii; Malaspina, cap. 225; Fauriel, 'Dante et les origines de la langue et de la littérature Italiennes,' vol. i. pp. 491-503; Napier's Flor. Hist. i. 318. See also Chaucer's Monkes Tale.

l. 15. i, for 'gli' or 'a lui' (Fr.): as xxii. 127. Some however read 'io.'

l. 16. *ma'*, for 'mali'; as xxviii. 135, 'i mai conforti.' Translate—'That by effect of his malicious designs.'

l. 18. *dir non è mestieri*, need not be said. *Mestiero* (French 'métier') is the Latin 'ministerium.'

l. 19. *non puoi avere inteso*: 'perchè avvenuto nel segreto della mia carcere.' (Fr.)

l. 21. Cp. Francesca's language, v. 102.

l. 22. *muda*, mew, is said to be from 'mudare' (mutare), to moult, Buti thinks that the tower was called the Mew: 'perchè vi si tenessono le aquile del Comune a mudare.' But the word is here perhaps merely used for a prison.

l. 24. 'And in which others yet must be shut.' Although the

spirits of the damned had the power of prophecy (as Farinata, Canto x), it scarcely needed a supernatural vision to foresee a fact such as this, considering the state of Italy at that time.

l. 26. **Più lune già.** Through the narrow opening of the prison window he had already seen 'several moons'—seven, according to Villani. See above on l. 13. Some read 'lume,' and explain it to mean that the day was far advanced when Ugolino fell asleep. But see l. 37.

l. 28. **Questi, Ruggieri.** Translate—'This man appeared to me as master and lord, hunting the wolf and its whelps . . .'; that is, as chief and lord of the hunters. This dream represents the Ghibelin chiefs, the Gualandi, Sismondi, and Lanfranchi, as hunters, under the command of Ruggieri. The hounds are the populace, who had been incited by the Ghibelin nobles against Ugolino. The wolf (Guelph) and its whelps are Ugolino and his sons. Dante more than once uses the wolf to represent the Guelph party. See p. 61. For **donno** see xxii. 83.

l. 30. **Monte San 'Giuliano**, which lies between Lucca and Pisa. **Ponno**: xxi. 10, note.

l. 31. 'With hounds lean, eager, and trained.' **Conte** may mean 'known' to their masters, but probably is used rather in the sense of trusted, or well-trained. Cp. x. 39, where 'parole conte' may mean 'well-ordered,' and therefore 'concise.' For **cagne** see on xiii. 125.

l. 33. **S'avea**; sc. Ruggieri. These three are sent to the front, as being the foremost of the Ghibelin nobles in Pisa. In 1282 Ginicello Sismondi was admiral of the Pisan fleet, which he lost in a tempest. In 1284, after the great defeat (see on l. 13), we hear that the Lanfranchi alone supplied eleven fresh galleys, the Gualandi six, and the Sismondi three. (Sism. Hist. ii. 8.)

l. 35. 'The father and the sons'; i. e. Ugolino and his sons, represented by the wolf and whelps. **Sana** for 'sanna' or 'zanna' (xxii. 56). Some read 'scana' here. Buti says, 'Scane sono li denti puntenti del cane . . co' quali egli afferra.' Such teeth are also called 'le prese.' (Fr.)

l. 36. 'Methought I saw their sides torn open.' For the construction see on v. 26.

l. 37. **Desto**, awake: a short form of 'destato,' from Lat. 'de-excitare.' Cp. 'presso al mattino il ver si sogna,' xxvi. 7.

l. 41. 'Thinking of what my heart foreboded me.' Others read 'al mio cor'; in which case **s'annunziava** must be translated as a passive or passive-middle, 'what was announced, or announced itself, to my heart.'

l. 44. **Che**: see on i. 3. 'And the hour drew nigh at which our food used to be brought to us.'

l. 45. The children seem to have had dreams, as well as Ugolino

himself, which foretold their fate: for they called out for bread in their sleep (l. 39).

l. 46. 'The thirty lines from *Ed io senti*' are unequalled by any other continuous thirty in the whole dominions of poetry.' (Landor, *Pentameron* 40: quoted by L.) It will be observed how natural and clear the language is, compared with that of much of the poem. **Chiovar**, locked. But some say 'nailed up'; 'inchiodare, sprangare.' (Fr.) According to Villani the door was locked and the key thrown into the Arno. See on l. 13. Longfellow thinks that such a common occurrence as the locking of the door below could not have caused dismay. The word 'chiovare' or 'chiavare' (Latin 'clavus') certainly means 'to nail up,' but may also be (from Lat. 'clavis') used of bolting a door.

l. 49. *si dentro impietrai*, so stony I grew within, or, so turned to stone within. **Impietrare** is from the Greek *πέτρα*, a stone. The same word, in the form 'impetrare' is used in xxiii. 27, with a different meaning: 'L' imagine . . . dentro impetro,' I imprint (as on stone) the image on my heart. In this passage however it is taken by some to mean 'acquire' (Lat. *impetrare*).

l. 50. **Anselmuccio mio**, my little Anselm. This diminutive is used to denote pity, and not unfrequently contempt. See on xvii. 91.

l. 51. *che hai?* what ails thee?

l. 54. *uscio*: see on x. 28.

l. 57. 'And I beheld in their four faces my very own aspect': not, as Fraticelli oddly says, 'per la natural somiglianza de' figli col padre,' but the same dreadful looks of despair and starvation.

l. 58. 'I bit both my hands in anguish'—a common sign of distress. Thus viii. 63, 'In sè medesimo si volgea co'denti': and xii. 14, 'E quando (il Minotauro) vide noi sè stesso morse'; and xxvii. 126 (of Minos), 'per gran rabbia la (coda) si morse.'

l. 59. *fessi* for 'facesti.' Cp. xx. 69, 'se fesse (facesse) quel cammino.'

l. 60. *manicar*: see xxxii. 127. **Levôrsi**: 'si levarono.' Cp. xxvi. 36, 'Quando i cavalli al cielo erti levôrsi.' This form, says Blanc, was commonly used even in the sixteenth century.

l. 63. **carni**, flesh. The plural is thus used sometimes: as *Purg.* xxix. 124, 'L'altra era come se le carni e l'ossa Fossero state di smeraldo fatte.'

l. 70. *come tu me vedi*, as thou seest me before thee, so before my eyes they died. *Ad uno ad uno*: see on xiii. 128.

l. 73. **brancolar**, to grope: from 'branca' (xvii. 13, xxi. 37). 'The Latin *brachium* could only give *brancia*. *Branca* was probably an old Rom. word perhaps even used in the spoken Latin.' (Diez.) Cp. O. Gaelic 'brac,' and Bret. 'branc.'

l. 75. 'After that hunger had more power than grief,' or 'prevailed over grief.' This line has provoked fierce discussion among the commentators, who have written many volumes on the subject. Does it merely mean that fasting at length prevailed over, that is, ended, his life and grief? Or, in the same manner as Dante delicately left us to infer the guilt of Francesca from 'Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante,' so does he in these words make Ugolino confess a revolting deed—that of having fed upon the flesh of his sons, as they had invited him to do? There are many reasons alleged against the latter explanation, by Fraticelli and others. Perhaps the strongest of these is that the ancient records do not mention the fact, and it is hardly a fact which a historian would have failed to register. Secondly, if he had actually fed on the corpses on the *ninth* day ('e tre dì . . . ; Poscia..') he would not have been dead 'dopo li otto giorni,' when Buti says the corpses were taken from the prison. Thirdly, it seems that after eight days of fasting all power of eating would have failed. Lastly, the compassion which the poet has excited in the reader for Ugolino is violently expelled by a sense of horror and disgust. On the other hand we may remark that nothing could increase the horror we already felt at the revolting fact that Ugolino was by his words interrupting his bestial repast off the head of Ruggieri, and that as soon as he had finished speaking he 'seized the wretched skull again with his teeth, which as a dog's were strong upon the bone.' It moreover seems likely that Dante introduced the proposal made in l. 62 in order to explain what his poetic instinct told him would be too horrible to describe at length. *Digiuno*, meaning 'fasting,' that is, the want of food, and not the pangs of hunger ('fame'), certainly seems to favour the first explanation.

l. 79. Cp. his address to 'that den of wild beasts,' Pistoia. 'Ah Pistoia, Pistoia, chè non stanzi D' incenerarti sì che più non duri' (xxv. 10). In *Purg.* xiv. 53 he calls the Pisans 'volpi.'

l. 80. Dante, as others of his times, often speaks of Italian as the 'lingua di sì.' In the *De Vulg. Eloq.* (i. viii.) he says that the European languages are three, 'nam alii *oc*, alii *oil*, alii *sì*, afirmando loquuntur: ut puta Hispani (Provençals), Franci (N. French), Latini (Italian).' And he generally alludes to them in these terms. Similarly in xviii. 61 he speaks of the Bolognese as 'appresi a dicer *sipa*' (a Bolognese provincialism for 'sì').

l. 82. Capraia and Gorgona are islands that lie off the mouth of the Arno. See Ampère, *Voyage Dantesque* (Pise); 'This idea may appear grotesque and forced if one looks at the map, for the isle of Gorgona is at some distance from the mouth of the Arno, and I had always thought so until the day when, having ascended the tower of Pisa, I was struck with the aspect which from that point of view Gorgona

presented. It seemed to close up the Arno.' The leaning tower was not built till after Dante's death, but he might have seen the view (as Ampère says) from some other of the numerous towers of Pisa.

l. 83. *faccian siepe*, make a hedge; i. e. dam up the stream so that it may flood Pisa. *Annegare*, from Latin 'necare,' to kill, is used only of drowning. (But in xix. 20 it is said by some to have the Latin sense; Blanc adds, 'del che non mancano esempi.') Cp. xxx. 12.

l. 85. *aveva voce*, had the fame. Thus in vii. 93, 'Dandole biasmo a torto e mala voce'; and xvi. 41, 'la cui voce Nel mondo su.'

l. 86. 'Of having betrayed thee of thy castles'; i. e. treacherously robbed thee of thy castles. When Archbishop Ruggieri wished to attack Ugolino, he incited the people by persuading them that the count had disposed of certain Pisan castles to the Florentines and Lucchese. The accusation was probably false. But see Napier's *Flor. Hist.* i. 313. 'He without hesitation surrendered Santa Maria a Monte, Fuccechio, Santa Croce, and Monte Calvole, to Florence.'

l. 87. *croce*, as the Latin 'crux,' is used of any torment or anguish. Cp. xvi. 43, 'Ed io che posto son con loro in croce'; and vii. 91, 'che tanto è posta in croce.' *Figliuoi*, here and in l. 45 for 'figliuoli.'

l. 89. *Novella Tebe*, modern Thebes. He probably alludes to the many tragic events connected with the history of Thebes, such as the fate of Oedipus and his family. It is possible that the reference is also to the tradition that Pisa was founded by Pelops, son of Tantalus of Thebes. (L.) Uguccione and Gaddo (l. 68) were his sons; Anselmo (l. 50) and Nino (il Bragata) his grandsons.

l. 92. 'Ruggedly wraps another people.' They are passing onward to the Ptolemaea. *Ruvido* is from Latin 'rubus,' a thorn.

l. 94. 'Weeping itself there allows them not to weep.' The reason is given in the next few lines. Cp. xxxii. 46-48.

l. 96. *ambascia*, lit. suffocation; used here of the pain caused by the tears finding no outlet. Cp. xiii. 102, 'Fanno dolore, ed al dolore finestra.' Cp. old Germ. 'ambaht' (= 'amt,' office), Dutch 'ambagts-mann,' an artisan. Hence (as with 'affanno,' i. 22) comes the meaning of toil and scarcity of breath.

l. 97. *fanno groppo*, form a cluster. Cp. xiii. 123.

l. 99. *coppo*, a pitcher, or hollow, here means the hollow of the eyes. Their heads were so bent back (l. 93) that the tears could not run down, but collected in a frozen mass over the eyes.

ll. 100-102. *avvegna che*, although. *Callo*, the Latin 'callum,' is hard skin. The cold had made his face numb. Translate—'and although, as from numbness, all feeling had by reason of the cold departed from my face.' *Cessar stallo* is 'to give up station,' to give place, or depart.

l. 105. 'Is not all heat extinguished down here?' The word *vapore* is probably used, as we find the Latin 'vapor' used, to mean 'heat,' and not only 'vapour.' (Lucretius iii. 234, etc.) It may however mean merely mist, which being produced by the action of the sun would necessitate the presence of some heat, and account for the existence of wind. See on ix. 68. Witte says of this passage, when speaking of the many misconceptions of Dante, 'man hat ihn einen grossen Dichter genannt, weil er die neue Theorie der Entstehung der Stürme andeutet.'

l. 106. *Avaccio*, quickly: 'voce disusata.' (B.) Cp. 'più avaccio,' x. 116. Diez connects it with Latin 'abigere,' 'abactus.'

l. 108. *che 'l fiato piove*, which rains down the blast. The wind came from above, as we shall see in xxxiv. 49 foll. For *crosta* see xxii. 150.

l. 110. This spirit as others (xxxii. 90) believes Dante and Virgil to be fellow sinners newly arrived at their place of torment.

l. 112. *I duri veli*: the same as the 'visiere di cristallo' (l. 98).

l. 113. *sfogare*, as 'disfogare' (xxxi. 71), means 'to give vent to.' *Impregnare*, to impregnate, or fill: from late Latin 'prægnare.'

l. 116. *disbrigo*, extricate; from 'briga,' for which see v. 49, note.

l. 118. *Frate Alberigo*, one of the Manfredi, the Guelph lords of Faenza. He belonged to the body of 'Fрати Godenti' (Jovial Friars), who are mentioned in xxiii. 103. They were knights of St. Mary, and not bound by any monastic vows. Urban IV instituted the order. This Alberigo was insulted by one of the Manfredi, but the quarrel was apparently forgotten when, on the pretence of a complete reconciliation, the treacherous Friar invited his kinsman and his son to a banquet. When the supper was over Alberigo bade his servants in a loud voice to 'bring the fruit,' and immediately some assassins, who were concealed behind an arras and ready for the signal, rushed forth and murdered his guests. This was in 1285. The *Ottimo Comento* adds, 'And he did the same thing in the preceding year at Castello delle Mura at Pistoia.'

ll. 119-120. 'I am he of the fruit of the evil garden, who here receive date for fig.' *Frutta* (for which see on i. 115) refers to the incident given in the last note. To get a date for your fig is a proverbial expression for being paid back with interest; for the date is rarer than the fig in Italy. *Figo* is an old form for 'fico.'

l. 121. *dissi lui*: 'dissi a lui.' See on i. 81, and below ll. 139 and 150. Alberigo was still alive in 1300. Cp. what follows with iii. 64, where it is affirmed that certain of the condemned 'never were alive' on the earth. In the *Odyssey* the image (εἰδωλον) of Hercules is seen in Hades, while he himself is among the immortals in heaven (Od. xi. 601). Cp. Rev. iii. 1; Ps. lv. 15.

l. 122. *Stea* for 'stia,' present subject from 'stare.' The same form is used *Purg.* ix. 144, 'si stea'; xvii. 84; and *Par.* xxxi. 45.

l. 123. *Cp.* x. 103-105.

l. 124. *vantaggio*, privilege: 'forse detto con ironia.' (Fr.) The Ptolomaea is so called from Ptolomaeus, the governor of Jericho, who treacherously invited to a banquet and slew his father-in-law, Simon Maccabaeus, the high priest, and his two sons, Judas and Mattathias (B.C. 135). See I Maccabees xvi.

l. 126. 'Before Atropos gives it motion,' that is, before actual death. *Dea* for 'dia,' as 'stea' above: also used in *Purg.* xxi. 13. *Cp.* 'deano' (xxx. 96). For *le* see on iii. 73. Atropos the Inevitable, Clotho the Spinster, and Lachesis the Assigner, were the three Greek Moirai, or Fates.

l. 127. *rade* for 'rada,' lit. 'raze,' that is, remove.

l. 129. *trade*, becomes traitor.

l. 130. *L'è tolto*, is taken from it.

l. 132. *Mentre che*: used as 'finchè.' (*Cp.* xiii. 18.) *Cp.* the use of Latin 'dum' and Greek *ἕως*. Translate—'until its time has wholly revolved'; till death.

l. 133. *Ruina*: see on i. 61. *Cisterna*, cistern; i. e. the pit of Hell, as 'grotta,' xxi. 110. *Cp.* this line with viii. 83, 'dal ciel piovuti'; and references given in note.

l. 135. *verna*, winters; from Latin 'hibernare.'

l. 136. *Tu 'l dèi saper*, as in l. 13, but in a different sense—'Thou must know him, if thou art but now come down.' *Mo* for 'modo,' as xxiii. 7; and *cp.* x. 21, note.

l. 137. *Ser Branca d'Oria*, one of the illustrious Doria family of Genoa, invited to a banquet and treacherously murdered his father in law Michele Zanche, concerning whom see on xxii. 88. This was in 1275.

l. 138. *sì racchiuso*, thus confined; in the ice.

l. 149. *Dissi lui*: l. 121.

l. 140. *unquanche*, not yet; from Lat. 'unquam' and Ital. 'anche.' He was alive, and held power with Opicino Spinola at Genoa in 1308.

l. 146. *prossimano*, near relative, from medieval 'proximanus.' His nephew is said to have been an accomplice to the murder.

l. 149, *gliele* for 'glieli' (x. 44, xxi. 102 for 'glielo').

l. 150. 'It was courtesy to him to be rude.' *Cp.* Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxvii. 77, 'Gli è teco cortesia l'esser villano.' (Andr.) For *lui* see on l. 121, and i. 81. See an apology for Dante's behaviour in Symonds' *Introd. to Study of Dante*, v. 4: and *cp.* xx. 28.

ll. 151, 152. *diversi D'ogni costume*: 'strani in ogni costume.' (Fr.) 'At variance with every principle.' *Magagna*, vice. *Muratori*

derives this word from 'manganum,' a catapult (?) Cp. O. Fr. 'me-haigner,' to maim, and late Latin 'mahaniare,' which means the same. (Diez.)

l. 153. Cp. what he says of Pisa, l. 82.

l. 154. 'The worst spirit of Romagna' is Alberigo of Faenza.

CANTO XXXIV.

ARGUMENT.

The Giudecca, or last ring of the frozen circle. Lucifer himself is now in sight. He has three faces, one vermilion, one pale yellow, and one black; under each face are two vast bat-wings; and in his three mouths he is crunching the three arch-traitors, Judas Iscariot, Brutus, and Cassius. Dante clasps the neck of his master, who 'applies himself to the shaggy sides' of Satan, and descends by such a stair to the centre of the earth, where with difficulty he reverses his position, and they begin to ascend toward the antipodes, with much toil following the course of a stream that had eaten its way down from the surface of the earth. At length through a round opening are seen the beauteous things that heaven bears, and our pilgrims issue forth 'once more to see the stars.'

l. 1. 'The banners of the king come forth—the king of Hell.' The first three words are taken from a Latin hymn 'to the banner,' written by Venanzio Fortunato, an Italian bishop of Poitiers, about A.D. 600. It is used during Holy Week, and especially on Good Friday. (B.) The hymn begins thus:

'Vexilla regis prodeunt,
Fulget crucis mysterium,
Quo carne carnis conditor,
Suspensus est patibulo.'

The 'banners' of the king of Hell are his great wings.

l. 6. 'There is seen afar a mill which the wind turns.' Some read 'al' for il, in which case *gira* must be intransitive. See ix. 29. Cervantes may have been indebted to this passage for his famous windmills.

l. 7. *dificio*, 'edifizio': often used, says Fraticelli, by the ancients for 'ordigno' (engine), or 'macchina.' It occurs once again in Purg. xxxii. 142, where it refers to the chariot in which Beatrice appears. For *allotta* see on v. 73: cp. xxxi. 112.

l. 9. *grotta*, hiding-place, or shelter. Cp. Goethe's expression of a similar thought, 'Das ist ein rechter Wall: wenn man nur an ihn denkt, meint man gleich, man könne sich hinter ihn verstecken, und der Teufel brächte einen nicht hervor.' (Egmont, i. 1.) This wind, which was mentioned in xxxiii. 103 foll., is produced by the wings of Satan.

l. 12. *come festuca in vetro*, as straw in glass. Although it is not clearly stated, it seems evident, that the sinners in these three rings are encased in the ice at depths corresponding to the enormity of their crimes, in the same way as others are immersed at various depths in the river of blood (Canto xii). In the *Giudecca*, where he now is, Dante finds them completely under, but visible through, the transparent surface. *Festuca* is a Latin word meaning 'stalk,' generally used for the rod of manumission (*vindicta*).

l. 13. *stanno a giacere*: are at full length.

l. 16. *fummo fatti*, 'were arrived'; as *Purg.* xxix. 46, 'Ma quando io fui sì presso di lor fatto.'

l. 18. Cp. Milton (*Par. Lost*, i. 84):

'O how fallen! how changed
From him, who in the happy realms of light
Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
Myriads, though bright.'

l. 20. Lucifer is called 'Dis' also in xi. 65, xii. 39. The 'basso Inferno' is the 'city of Dis' in viii. 68.

l. 21. Cp. iii. 14, 15.

l. 22. *fioco*, faint. Others translate it 'hoarse.' See i. 63, iii. 27, xxxi. 12.

l. 24. See on i. 7, and references.

l. 25. 'I died not, and did not remain alive.' Cary gives an apt quotation from Plautus (*Curculio* 5. 2):

'tum ibi me nescio quis arripit,

Timidam atque pavidam, nec vivam nec mortuam.'

l. 26. *s'hai fior d'ingegno*, if thou hast a grain of wit. *Fior* is perhaps used in this sense in the disputed passage (*xxv.* 144) '*se fior la penna aborra*': see on xxxi. 24. Cp. also *Purg.* iii. 135: '*Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde*,' which is generally translated 'While hope has anything of green.'

l. 27. *D'uno e d'altro privo*, deprived of both death and life.

l. 28. *L'imperador*: see on i. 124. The following description of Satan may well be contrasted with that given by Milton (*Par. Lost*, i. 192 foll., iv. 985, and elsewhere). It will be noticed how Dante's effects are obtained by definite representation, Milton's by leaving his images, as Macaulay says, to float undefined in a gorgeous haze of language.

ll. 30, 31. 'And I am more like (lit. agree with) a giant than the giants are to his arms.' *Convegno*: as iii. 123. For *non* see on viii. 30: for *fan*, on xxxii. 132. Milton merely compares his Satan to the giants, and yet gives us an idea of far greater size.

'Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate,
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blazed: his other parts beside
Prone on the flood extended long and large
Lay floating many a rood: in bulk as huge
As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
Titanian, or Earth-born, that warred on Jove;
Briareus or Typhon, whom the den
By ancient Tarsus held: or that sea-beast
Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugest that swim the ocean stream.'

l. 33. *si confaccia*, corresponds. Translate—'that whole which corresponds to such a part'; i. e. the part visible.

l. 35. *alzò le ciglia*, lifted up his brow, rebelled. Cp. 'levar le ciglia' (x. 45), 'innalzar le ciglia' (iv. 130), 'chinar le ciglia' (Purg. vii. 13), 'aguzzar le ciglia' (xv. 20); all of which however are used in a more literal sense.

l. 36. 'Well may all tribulation come from him.' The meaning is, well may he be the author of all evil, if he dared to rebel against One who made him so beautiful at first.

l. 38. *facce*: cp. 'rocce,' xxxii. 3, note.

l. 40. *Dell'altra due . . . La destra*: others read 'L'altre eran due,' and 'E la destra.'

l. 41. *Sovresso*, above; from 'sovra' and 'esso,' which is indeclinable and merely placed between the preposition and substantive to make the expression more precise. (B.)

l. 42. 'And they were united at the summit of his crest.' *Cresta* is the crest of a bird: cp. on l. 47. One face looked straight forward, and the other two were joined to this at the middle of each shoulder, and all three heads were united in one mass in the centre. The vermilion face is said by Pietro di Dante, Vellutello, and others to represent impotent anger, the yellow face envy, and the black face ignorance, which qualities are the converse of those mentioned in Canto iii, Divine Power, Love, and Wisdom. Others (Fr., Andr., etc.) take them to stand for the three then-known quarters of the world, Europe, Asia, and Africa. It is possible that both explanations are right, as is so often the case with Dante's allegories. Cp. Milton (Par. Lost, iv. 114):

'Thus, while he spake, each passion dimmed his face
Thrice changed with pale ire, envy, and despair.'

l. 45. *s' avvalla*, descends to its valley, or begins its valley; from Lat. 'ad-vallis.' The active form is common, in an active sense, 'to let down'; as *Purg. xiii. 63*, 'avvallare il capo.' In *Purg. vi. 37* it is used as a neuter: 'ora avvalliamo.' Cp. 'divallarsi,' 'avante Che si divalli giù nel basso letto,' of a waterfall, *xvi. 98*. Milton has (*Par. Lost. iv. 282*)
'under the Ethiop line

By Nilus' head';

and cp. *Cicero* (*Scipio's dream*) 'ubi Nilus . . . praecipitat ex altissimis montibus,' a passage possibly well-known to Dante: see p. lxxiii.

l. 47. *si conveniva*; as 'mi convegno,' l. 30: but here impersonal. Cp. *xxii. 97*, where one of the winged demons is called 'uccello'; and in *Purg. ii. 38* an angel is called 'uccel divino.' Cp. τὸ παρθένιον πτερόν, of the Sphinx (*Eur. Phoen. 806*).

l. 48. Cary quotes from *Frezzi, Il Quadrir. ii. xix*,
'Argo non ebbe mai sì grande vela,
Ne altra nave, come l'ali sue.'

Cp. Milton (*Par. Lost ii. 927*),

'His sail-broad vans

He spreads for flight';

and *Spenser* (*Faery Queene, i. 11. 10*), where the dragon's wings are said to be

'like mayne-yardes with flying canvas lynd':

and later (stanza 18) 'his broad sayles.'

ll. 49-50. 'But their fashion was a bat's': see on *iii. 34*, for *modo*. *Vipistrello*, a bat, from Latin 'vespertilio.' The *Crusc. ed.* reads 'vispistrello,' a form nearer the Latin. The modern form is 'pipistrello.' *Svolazzare*, to flap the wings.

l. 51. These winds are what Dante had felt some time before, *xxxiii. 103, 108*. 'Blasts of Impotency, Ignorance, and Hatred, which freeze all the marsh of sin.' (*Cl.*)

l. 52. *Quindi*, whereby.

l. 54. *Bava* (*Sp. Portug.* 'baba,' *Fr.* 'bave'), spittle. An onomatopoeia, expressing properly the drivelling of an infant (cp. βαβάζειν, to stammer); hence *Eng.* 'babe,' *Fr.* 'bave,' and *Sp.* 'babieca,' foolish (properly 'drivelling,' 'foaming,' whence its use as the name of the *Cid's* horse); *Sp.* 'babosa,' a slug. (*Diez.*)

l. 56. *maciulla* is a mace for bruising hemp: a diminutive from antique Italian 'macca.' Cp. *O. Fr.* 'maqué,' 'maquer,' and 'mâcher'; *Ital.* 'macco' or 'macca,' a heap (perhaps something pressed down); *Gr.* μάσσειν.

l. 58. 'To him in front (in the front mouth) the biting was nothing compared with the mangling.' *Graffiar*, to mangle with claws or teeth: see on *xiii. 116*.

l. 60. *brulla*, naked, or stripped. The form 'brollo' is used in xvi. 30, 'il aspetto tinto e brollo,' where it probably means 'peeled' by the heat, and may be compared with Fr. 'brûlé.' In Purg. xiv. 91 it means merely 'destitute.'

l. 63. *mena*, plies: ix. 83, xxxi. 96. The Simonist Popes are similarly buried head-foremost (Canto xix), and 'lament with their legs.'

l. 65. *ceffo*: see on xvii. 50, xxxi. 126. Marcus Brutus was the so-called patriot who took part in the murder of Caesar. It was not the fact that Brutus was the trusted friend of the dictator that has induced Dante to place him here with Judas Iscariot; for the same reason cannot apply to Cassius, who was a personal enemy of Caesar. As Judas betrayed the Head of the true Church, so did Brutus and Cassius betray the founder of the imperial monarchy; both of which divinely-appointed institutions Dante, as a Ghibelin and more than a Ghibelin, held to be equally sacred in their respective functions of 'directing the spiritual and bodily aims of men.' (De Monarchiâ, bk. iii.) See p. xxvi, and cp. i. 108, note.

l. 67. *membruto*, full of limb. Dante evidently is confusing Caius Cassius, the murderer of Caesar, with Lucius Cassius, the rival of Cicero, and the accomplice of Catiline. 'Nec . . . Lentuli somnum, nec Cassii adipem, nec Cethegi temeritatem pertimescendam,' 'I need fear neither the sleepiness of Lentulus, nor the fatness of Cassius, nor the rashness of Cethegus.' (Cic. Cat. iii. 7.) Caius Cassius on the contrary was, as Plutarch says, thin and pallid. Hence Shakespeare's description (Jul. Caes. i. 2):

'Yon Cassius has a lean and hungry look;

He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.'

l. 68. *Ma la notte risurge*. This is the night of Saturday. A full day of twenty-four hours has been occupied by the journey through Hell. See on i. 1, and p. 190. As it is the equinox, the night would be rising about six o'clock. See on ll. 96 and 105.

l. 69. *avem*, for 'abbiamo': xxii. 70.

l. 70. *avvinghiai*: v. 6, note. Dante has had occasion more than once before to cling to his guide for support. See xvii. 96, xxiii. 37, 'Lo Duco mio di subito mi prese, Come la madre . . . che prende il figlio'; xxiv. 22, 'Le braccia aperse . . . e diedemi di piglio.'

l. 71. *poste*, opportunities: used generally in xxxi. 111, but here it has the same meaning as in xiii. 113, where it expresses the commanding, or favourable, position taken up by a hunter when watching for game.

l. 73. 'Applied himself to the shaggy flanks.' Thus in xxv. 50, 'un serpente . . . tutto a lui s'appiglia.' Cp. Purg. vii. 15. In like manner Virgil makes Dante 'take opportunity of time and place' to pass the Minotaur (Canto xii.).

ll. 74, 75. **vello**, shag; from Lat. 'vellus,' a fleece; hence also 'velluto' in the preceding line. Translate—'From shag to shag down he then descended, between the tangled hair and the frozen crusts.' **Poscia** is used as 'poi.' Blanc (transl. Carbone) says 'è da notare che Dante usa infinitamente più spesso *poi*.' For **folto** see on ix. 6; and for **croste**, which here means the icy wall of the cavity in which Lucifer was half buried, see on xxii. 150. As we often see the ice which surrounds a mass of rock separated from it by a deep crevasse, so the huge mass of Lucifer's body is not actually touched by the frozen wall; and it is by this cleft that the poets descend.

l. 77. 'Where the thigh turns exactly on the thick of the haunch.' Perhaps however we should take it 'Quando noi fummo in sul grosso . . . dove la coscia.' (Fr.) For **grosso** see on xxii. 27. **Anca** is perhaps connected with Greek *ἄγκη*, a bend: cp. also Germ. 'anke,' Fr. 'hanche,' Portug. 'anco,' an elbow. Festus even mentions a Latin 'ancus,' i. e. 'qui aduncum brachium habet, ut exporrigi non possit.' The O. H. Germ. 'ancha' means a shin-bone: whence Fr. 'anche,' a pipe.

l. 79. **Zanca**, shank; as xix. 45, 'piangeva con la zanca.' The word is common to many European languages, and is perhaps originally from A.S. 'scanca.' This inversion, performed with such fatigue and anguish, was of course necessary in order to pass the centre of gravity.

l. 81. 'So that I thought we were returning to Hell again'; because they now are beginning the ascent in the other hemisphere. For **anche** see on xxi. 39.

l. 82. **Attienti ben**, hold thee close. **Scale**: cp. xvii. 82, 'Omai si scende per siffatte scale'; xxiv. 55, 'Più lunga scala convien che si saglià' (of the ascent to Paradise: cp. i. 121).

l. 83. **ansando**, panting; from Greek *ἄω*, *ἄσθμα* (asthma), whence 'asima,' 'ansimare,' and 'ansare.' But 'ansiare' or 'ansare' is said by some to be connected with Lat. 'anxius' (cp. Span. 'ansiar,' to covet).

l. 85. **sasso**: the rocky bed of the frozen sea.

l. 87. The natural explanation of this line seems to be that before emerging from the rocky cleft Virgil had lifted Dante up and set him on the edge, and then himself with careful steps clambered up the wall. Fraticelli however says that 'poi,' 'dopo,' 'però,' and 'appresso' are often employed by the ancients for 'poichè,' 'dopochè,' and 'appressochè': and he explains the passage thus, 'Poi uscì fuori . . . e pose me a sedere in sull' orlo dell' sasso medesimo, posciachè mi avea porto il modo si eseguire quell' accorto e sagace passaggio, cioè, di uscir dall' Inferno.' I only find one other instance in the poem where 'appresso' is possibly used for 'appressochè' (x. 133). Fraticelli adds, 'può anche intendersi: Appresso mostrò, fece conoscere a me il passaggio che

accortamente avevamo fatto.' This however seems a fanciful explanation of a simple expression 'porgere il passo': cp. 'porger gli occhi' (xvii. 52). The verb is certainly used for directing one's speech towards, i. e. addressing: as viii. 112, 'Udir non pote' quello ch' a lor porse.' But this is merely like 'porger parole' (v. 108, xvii. 88).

l. 91. *travagliato*, distressed; confused and astonished at seeing Lucifer 'holding his legs upwards.' Some take it as 'toil-worn.' 'Travaglio,' Span. 'trabajo,' Prov. 'trabath,' is perhaps from Lat. 'trabs,' a beam, whence comes the Span. and Prov. 'travar' (cp. Fr. 'entraver,' to fetter, or hinder. Cp. however the Celtic 'treabh,' to plough. (Diez.)

l. 92. 'Let the gross people think, who see not...' He means that those gross people, and they only who have not already seen that it was the centre of gravity which he had been passing, would share in his confusion at what he saw. He himself was ignorant that he had passed the centre; as we see below. Carlyle takes it otherwise, '*even they* may judge if I grew toil-worn then' (?) Cp. ix. 61, 'O voi, ch' avete gli intelletti sani...' It is possible that in the present passage also there is some deeper meaning.

l. 95. Cp. Virg. Aen. vi. 126:

'facilis descensus Averno:
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis:
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.'

Milton, Par. Lost, ii. 432:

'Long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light.'

But the fact is that the ascent does not prove more difficult or tedious than the descent: l. 139 note.

l. 96. 'And already to the middle tierce the sun returns.' According to the canonical reckoning (taken from the system of Hebrew 'watches') the day was divided into four equal parts, called 'ore temporali.' These vary in length (as Dante fully explains in Convito ii. 6) according to the length of the day, and at the equinox are each of three hours. They are called 'terza,' 'sesta,' 'nona,' and 'vespro.' The 'terza' at the time of the equinox (the season now in question) would begin at six and end at nine. The 'mezza terza' is therefore half-past seven, according to our reckoning, and half-past thirteen according to Italian time. As they are now in the other hemisphere it is early morning instead of evening, twelve hours later than it is on the other side of the centre. The 'terza' is mentioned again in Par. xv. 98: cp. Purg. xv. 1. Cp. 'Già eran quasi ch' atterzate l' ore,' Vita Nuova, Son. i.

1. 97. *camminata di palagio*, palace hall, from Low Lat. 'caminata,' literally a room with a fire-place (Lat. *caminus*): whence Fr. 'cheminée,' Eng. 'chimney.' 'Cammino,' a way, is probably from a different source: Celtic 'cam,' a step, and 'camán,' a way; low Latin 'caminus,' Fr. 'chemin.' (Diez.)

1. 98. *burella*, dungeon or dark cell. From 'burrus,' which Festus says is equivalent to 'rufus' (evidently the Greek *πυρρός*); but it seems to have been used later of tawny or dark colour. Hence the Lombard 'buro,' and the common 'buio' (cp. Lat. 'furfus,' whence 'fuio'; 'paro' and 'paio'). There is a street in Florence still called the 'Via della Burella.' It takes its name from a subterraneous prison connected with the Palazzo degli Otto, which formerly was a court of justice. Fraticelli says that the wild beasts destined for the amphitheatre were confined there.

1. 102. *erro*, an old form for 'errore.'

1. 105. 'And how in so short a time has the sun made transit from even to morn.' See on l. 96. The actual time occupied (since l. 68) descending from the surface of the Giudecca, and in passing the centre, must have been one hour and a half; for it was about six in l. 68 and half-past seven in l. 96. But it might have been nearly seven in l. 68, and that would leave only half an hour for this passage of the centre. In xix. 129 the more usual form, 'tragetto' occurs.

1. 107. *m'appresi*, laid me hold of. This middle form is used in v. 100 (but see note there) with perhaps a similar meaning. Some read 'mi presi.'

1. 108. 'The evil Worm that boreth the world.' Our earth, the centre of the universe (l. 113, note), is, as Carlyle says, gnawed through by Satan as an apple by a worm. But 'vermo' is used in a wider sense, and is applied to Satan as the 'Serpent.' In vi. 22 Cerberus is called 'il gran vermo,' which seems to mean 'the great Tormentor'; as in Isaiah lxvi. 24, 'their worm shall not die' (St. Mark ix. 43, 46, 49). Milton calls Satan 'that false Worm,' Par. Lost. ix. 1067.

1. 109. *cotanto*; sc. 'tempo,' so long.

1. 111. Cp. xxxii. 74, 'Al quale ogni gravezza si raguna.' Monti observes that this passage might have suggested the fact of gravity to Newton better than a falling apple. But it is no more than we find in ancient writers: as, 'tellus . . . in eam feruntur omnia nutu suo pondera' (Cicero, Scipio's Dream).

ll. 113-115. 'Which is opposite to that which overspreads the great dry land.' Carlyle says (Preface), 'Our Earth rests "for ever fixed and stable" in the centre of Dante's universe (Convito Tr. iii. c. 5), and the Heavens with their Planets and Stars go revolving round it. Only a comparatively small portion of it is known to be inhabited in his time,

and that he calls "the uncovered part," or the "great dry land." This is the 'arida' of the Vulgate (Gen. i. 10). In the midst of this dry land is Jerusalem (see on i. 2), immediately under the 'summit' or culminating point of the northern Heaven, or hemisphere. *Consunto*, destroyed, is formed from the Lat. 'consumere,' 'consumptus': the latter form (though perhaps from 'summa') is 'consumare,' 'consumato' (vii. 9). Blanc says it is used here 'alludendo forse al *consummatum est*' (it is finished). Cp. Giov. Villani, ii. 5, 'Furono martirizati e consumati.'

l. 116. *picciola sfera*, the small 'sphere'; that which corresponds with, 'forms the other face of,' the Giudecca, the smallest and most central of the infernal circles.

l. 118. *da man*: 'da mattino.' Cp. Par. xxvii. 29, 'da sera e da mane.'

l. 119. See on l. 82: cp. 80, 108.

l. 121. *Da questa parte*, on this side of the earth. When Lucifer fell from the summit of the southern heaven, the dry land fled away in horror from that hemisphere of the earth, which thenceforth was covered with the sea. He struck the earth and pierced to its centre, and as the ground yawned and shrank before him it was forced upwards and formed an island in the midst of the great southern ocean: and this island is the Mount of Purgatory, the antipodes of Jerusalem.

l. 126. *Quella ch'appar di qua*, that which appears on this side; that is, the Mount of Purgatory, which is visible above the sea in the southern hemisphere.

l. 127. *Belzebù*: i.e. Lucifer. (Matt. xii. 24.) The dark cavern that leads up to the surface of the earth on this side is as 'far removed from Beelzebub,' extends as far from the centre, as 'his tomb,' that is Hell, extends on the other side.

l. 130. This stream, the sound of which they follow, is Lethe, in which the souls in Purgatory wash away the memories of sin. This sin-tainted water flows slowly down to Satan, bearing back to him the filth of evil, of which he was the original source. In xiv. 136 Virgil had promised—

'Letè vedrai, ma fuor di questa fossa,

Là dove vanno l'anime a lavarsi,

Quando la colpa pentuta è rimossa.'

l. 131. 'Through the hollow of a rock, which it has eaten out with the course that it winds, and slopes gently': that is, 'with its winding and gently sloping course.' For *buca* see on xxxii. 125.

l. 137. *Tanto che*, so far that. *Cose belle*: cp. i. 40.

l. 138. *portugio*: xxxiii. 22. It of course means the mouth of the cavern above them. Notice in how few words the long ascent is described.

l. 139. *le stelle*. See note on i. 38. These are the morning stars of Easter Monday (not, as Longfellow says, Easter Sunday). In l. 96 we have seen that it was half-past seven on Sunday morning when the poets were still close to the centre of the earth, and even then, an hour and a half after the sun had risen, no stars would have been visible: although indeed at a considerable depth it would have been possible to see the stars in broad daylight. But now they have 'issued forth' on to the surface of the earth, and find the stars above them. It is therefore necessary to suppose that the long and toilsome ascent, as the descent, took little less than twenty-four hours, and that it is now (as we see from Purg. i. 13, 107; ii. 1) a short time before sunrise on Monday morning. What Dante intends by ending each *cantica* with the words '*stelle*' will not lose its significance with true students of the poem. Here from the darkness of Hell he issues forth to see once more the stars. From Purgatory he aspires 'to mount to the stars.' When his wondrous pilgrimage is over, and he is gazing with awe at the Vision of the Trinity, when his mind refuses to explain the mystery of the Incarnate God, he is suddenly struck by a flash of light that brings him his desire, and his desire and will was revolved, as a wheel that is moved with equal motion, by

'L'Amor che muove il Sole e l'altre stelle.'

ERRATA.

P. 66, l. 11 from bottom: *for Lonf read Longfellow*.

P. 80, l. 19 from bottom: *for Augella read Augello*.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE INFERNO.

The Inferno is a deep circular pit, in shape like an inverted cone (or, as Dante says, like a 'conca,' ix. 16). The sides of this pit slope rapidly downwards towards the lowest point, the apex of the cone, which is in the centre of the earth. Here Lucifer himself is fixed.

The divisions of the Inferno are: (1) Upper and Lower Hell, (2) four Regions, (3) nine Circles some of which are subdivided into rings, fosses, etc. The first five circles are contiguous and form the Upper Hell. They are arranged as follows:—On the upper confines of the abyss, and above the first circle, is the region of *Vigliacchi*. These neutrals do not belong to Hell, properly so called. The first circle contains the unbaptized—sages, poets, and good men of ancient times. These are free from torture. At the second circle *Minos*, the judge, is stationed; and here the torments of Hell begin. The second, third, fourth, and fifth circles are appropriated to Incontinence. Then come the walls of the city of *Dis*, which divide the Upper from the Lower Hell (*il basso Inferno*). Within these walls lies the sixth circle, containing the arch-heretics.

After the sixth circle comes a steep descent, and we reach the second infernal region, which contains the three rings of the seventh circle, and is assigned to Malice.

Then comes another still more precipitous descent, resembling the shaft of a vast well, which divides the second region (seventh circle) from the third region. This third region is occupied by ten rings of the eighth circle, and is called *Malebolge*. The rings ('*fosso*' or '*bolgia*'), lying one below the other on a slope like the rows in an amphitheatre, are divided from each other by banks (*ripa*), while radial dykes ('*ponte*' or '*scoglio*') cross them at right angles, just like the transverse gangways in a theatre. In these rings or fosses Bestiality is punished.

After *Malebolge* comes another precipice dividing the third from the fourth, or frozen region, which contains four divisions of the ninth circle—namely, *Caina*, *Antenora*, *Ptolemaea*, and *Giudecca*, the lowest ring of the frozen sea, in which Lucifer is fixed.

In descending the poets generally bear towards the left (x. 133, xiv. 126, xviii. 21, xix. 41, xxi. 136, xxiii. 68, xxxi. 83, etc.), although once or twice (ix. 132, where see note; xvii. 31) they turn for a time to the right.

The minute details which Dante gives will amply serve to fill up this outline. He is so exact in his descriptions that there is no need for more to be explained here. He sometimes even gives us the measurements of objects—as the height of the giants, and the circumferences of the circles. The breadth of the tenth fosse of Malebolge is half a mile. The circumference of the ninth bolgia is given at twenty-two miles, and that of the tenth at eleven miles—numbers which shew that there is a very rapid contraction both in width and circumference, and lead us to infer the vast dimensions of the upper regions of Hell (xxix. 9; xxx. 86, 87).

I hope that the Arguments and Notes will serve to explain any further points that may be necessary.

THE DAYS AND HOURS OF THE DESCENT.

Thursday, March 24.

The wood. *Night*.

Friday, March 25.

Sun rises. [First day of 1301 by old calendar]. At the foot of the Mount.

‘le sue spalle

Vestite già de’ raggi del pianeta.’ (i. 17.)

Wanders on the slope. *Morning*.

‘Temp’era dal principio del mattino.’ (i. 37.)

Meets Virgil, and follows him. *Evening*.

‘Allor si mosse: ed io gli tenne dietro.’ (i. 136).

‘Lo giorno se n’andava.’ (ii. 1.)

Saturday, March 26.

Descends from fourth to fifth circle. *Past midnight.*

‘Già ogni stella cade.’ (vii. 98.)

At the steep descent to seventh circle. *Two hours before sunrise.*

‘Che i Pesci guizzan su per l’orizzonta
E ’l Carro tutto sovra ’l Coro giace.’ (xi. 113.)

From fourth to fifth bolgia. *Moon setting: an hour after sunrise* (for it was full moon on Friday).

‘chè già tiene il confine
D’ amenduo gli emisperi, e tocca l’ onda
Sotto Sibia, Caino e le spine:
E già iernotte fu la Luna tonda.’ (xx. 124-127.)

In fifth bolgia. Malebranche. *About 10 a.m.*

‘Ier più oltre cinque ore che quest’ ora...’
(xxi. 112, note.)

In ninth bolgia. *About midday.*

‘E già la luna è sotto i nostri piedi.’ (xxix. 10.)

By Lucifer. *Evening: 6 p.m. or later.*

‘Ma la notte risurge.’ (xxxiv. 68, note.)

They climb down the flank of Lucifer in $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours, or perhaps half-an-hour.
(see xxxiv. 105, note.)

Sunday, March 27.

Centre is passed, by which twelve hours are gained. *Morning: 7.30. a.m.*

‘E già il Sole a mezza terza riede.’ (xxxiv. 96, note.)

The whole of Sunday occupied by the ascent of the great dark cavern: *a little before sunrise* they issue forth.

‘E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle.’ (xxxiv. 139, note.)

UNUSUAL FORMS OF CERTAIN VERBS.

ESSERE.

Present indicative.

Io sono : so' (some MSS.): mi sono.
Egli è : ee : este (Lat. est) : emmi (mi è).
Noi siamo : sêmo : sêm.
Eglio sono : enno : en.

Imperfect.

Noi eravamo : erâmo : erâm.

Perfect.

Io fui : fu' io (also before all vowels by some MSS.): fumi.
Egli fu : fue : fusi : fumi (= mi fu).
Eglio furono : fûro : fôro.

Future.

Egli sarà : sia : fia : fie : (fieti) : saragli (= vi sarà).
Eglio saranno : sieno : fieno : fien. (Lat. fient.)

Conditional.

Io sarei : fôra (rare : = Lat. forem).
Egli sarebbe : saría : fôra (often).
Eglio sarebbero : sarebbono : sariano : sarien : forano.

Conditional past.

Io sarei stato : sarei (as sarei vinto, xxiv. 34).

Subjunctive.

Tu sii ; sia : sie (sieti).

Imperfect subjunctive.

Io fossi : fosse.
Egli fosse : fossi : fusse.
Eglio fossero : fossono : fosse (? viii. 78).

Past subjunctive.

Egli fosse stato : fosse (= Lat. *fuisset*, xxiv. 34, xxviii. 70).

Infinitive.

esse (Lat. form ; Par. iii. 79).

AVERE.

Present indicative.

Io ho : abbo : (honne = ne ho).

Tu hai : ha'

Noi abbiamo : avemo : avem.

Imperfect.

Tu avevi : avei.

Egolino avevano : avean : avien : avén.

Perfect.

Ioebbi, ei or hei (? i. 28).

Conditional.

Io avrei : averei.

Egli avrebbe : averebbe : avria.

Egolino avrebbero : avrian : averian.

Subjunctive.

Tu abbi : abbia : aggi : haia.

Egli abbia : aggia : haia.

Imperative.

Tu abbi : aggi.

FARE.

Present indicative.

Tu fai : faci.

Egli fa : face : (fane : fassi).

Imperfect.

Tu facevi : facei.

Egolino facevano : facêno : facên : facién (facensi).

Perfect.

Io feci : fei : fe' : (femmi).

Egli fece : fe' : (felli = gli fece : fesse = si fece) : fee : feo.

Noi facemmo : fêmmo.

Eglino fecero : fenno : (fensi) feron : fêro : fêr :

(fêrmi : fêrci : fêrsi).

Conditional.

Eglino farebbero : fariéno.

Imperfect subjunctive.

Io facessi : fêssi.

Egli facesse : fêsse.

POTERE; puone for può. (Cp. vane, stane, etc.)

potêmo for possiamo.

pônno for possono.

potean (potên) for potevano.

potêsi (or potiêsi) for potéasi (= si poteva)

potéo for potè.

poria for potria (potrebbe).

possendo for potendo.

DOVERE; deggio for debbo (devo).

dêe for deve.

deono, dên, denno, for debbono.

dovrien for dovriano (dovrebbero).

dêano for debbano.

debbia for deva.

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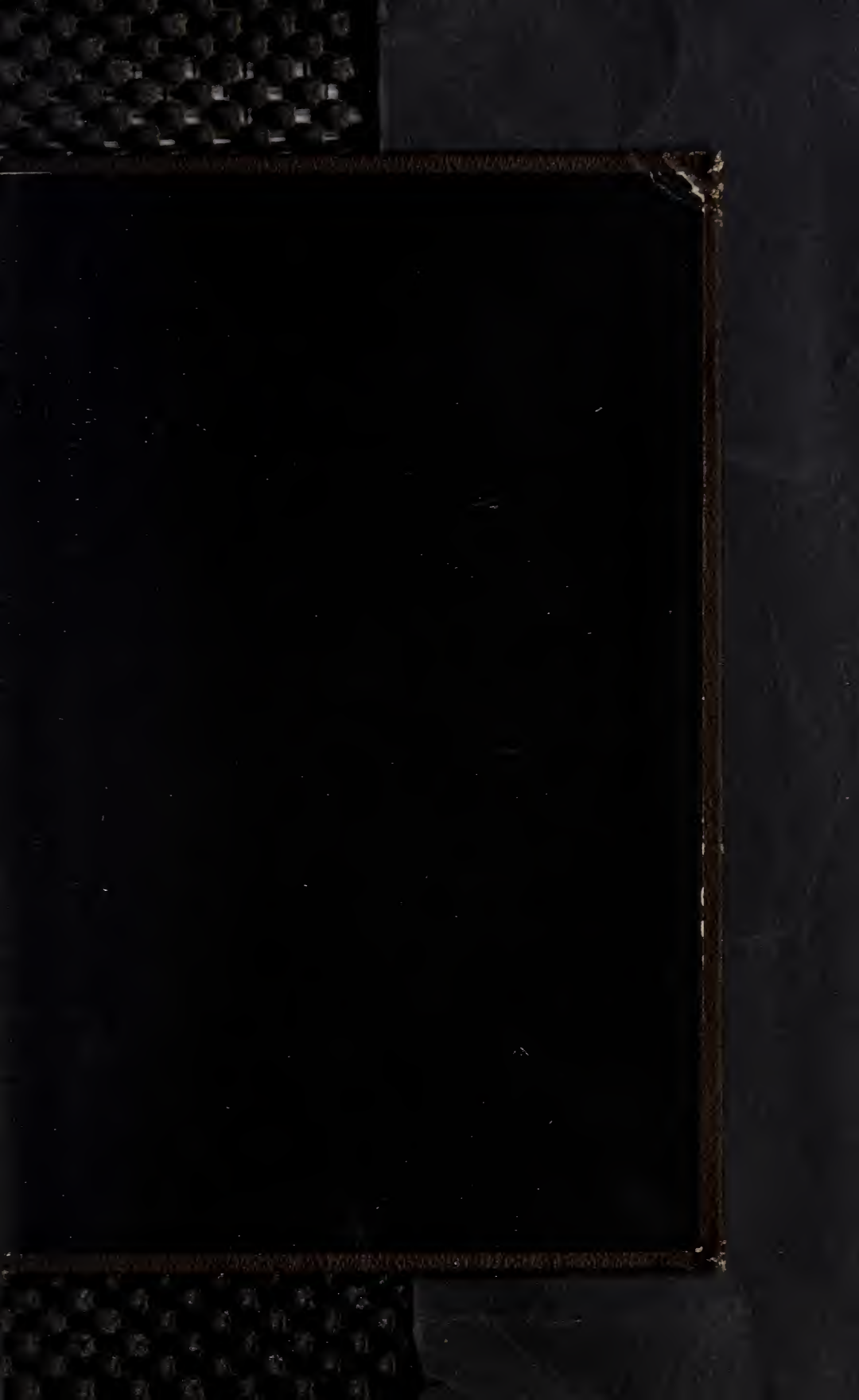


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